ANNOTATIONS

BY

SAM. JOHNSON & GEO. STEEVENS,

AND

THE VARIOUS COMMENTATORS,

UPON

K. RICHARD III.

WRITTEN BY

WILL. SHAKSPERE.

——*SIC ITUR AD ASTRA.*

VIRG.

LONDON:

Printed for, and under the Direction of,

JOHN BELL, British-Library, STRAND,

Bookseller to His Royal Highness the PRINCE of WALES.

M DCC LXXXVII.

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ANNOTATIONS

UPON

K. RICHARD III.

ACT I.

King Richard III.] It appears that several dramas on the present subject had been written before Shakspere attempted it. See the observations prefixed to this play, which was first entered at Stationers-Hall by Andrew Wise, Oct. 20, 1597, under the title of *The Tragedie of King Richard the Third, with the Death of the duke of Clarence.* Before this, viz. Aug. 15th, 1586, was entered, *A Tragical Report of King Richard the Third, a Ballad.* It may be necessary to remark that the words, *song, ballad, book, interlude,* and *play,* were often synonymously used. STEEVENS.

Line 2. ——*this sun of York*;] Alluding to the cognizance of Edward IV. which was *a sun,* in memory

mory of the *three suns*, which are said to have appeared at the battle which he gained over the Lancastrians at Mortimer's Cross.

So, in Drayton's *Miseries of Queen Margaret:*

"Three *suns* were seen that instant to appear,
"Which soon again shut themselves up in one,
"Ready to buckle as the armies were,
"Which this brave duke took to himself alone," &c.

Again, in the 22d Song of the *Polyolbion:*

"And thankful to high heaven which of his cause had care,
"Three *suns* for his device still in his ensign bare."

Again, in the Wrighte's Play in the *Chester Collection*. MS. Harl. 1013, the same prodigy is introduced as attending on a more solemn event:

"That day was sene veramente
"*Three sonnes* in the firmament,
"And wonderly together went
"And torned into one." STEEVENS.

7. ——*merry meetings*,] So, in *The tragical Life and Death of King Richard the Third*, which is one of the metrical monologues in a collection entitled, *The Mirrour of Magistrates*. The first edition of it appeared in 1575, but the lines quoted on the present as well as future occasions throughout this play, are not found in any copy before that of 1610, so that the author was more probably indebted to Shakspere than Shakspere to him:

——*th*

——the battles fought in fields before
Were turn'd to meetings of sweet amitie;
The war-god's thundring cannons dreadful rore,
And rattling drum-sounds' warlike harmonie,
To sweet-tun'd noise of pleasing minstrelsie.

God Mars laid by his launce, and tooke his lute,
And turn'd his rugged frownes to smiling lookes;
Instead of crimson fields, war's fatal fruit,
He bath'd his limbes in Cypris warbling brooks,
And set his thoughts upon her wanton lookes.

STEEVENS.

9. *Grim-visag'd war*, &c.] Shakspere, as Mr. Reed thinks, seems to have had the following passage from Lyly's *Alexander and Campaspe*, 1584, before him, when he wrote these lines: "Is the warlike sound of drum and trump turn'd to the soft noise of lyre and lute? The neighing of *barbed steeds*, whose loudness filled the air with terror, and whose breaths dimned the sun with smoak, converted to delicate tunes and amorous glances?" &c. EDITOR.

10. *——barbed steeds,*] I. Haywarde, in his *Life and Raigne of Henry IV.* 1599, says—*The duke of Hereford came to the barriers, mounted upon a white courser*, barbed with blue and green velvet, &c.

So, in Jarvis Markham's *English Arcadia*, 1607:

"——armed in a black armour, curiously damask'd with interwinding wreaths of cypress and ewe, his *barbe* upon his horse, all of black abrosetta, cut in broken hoopes upon curled cypress."

Again, in the Second Part of *K. Edward IV.* by Heywood, 1626:

"With *barbed* horse, and valiant armed foot."

Barbed, however, may be no more than a corruption of *barded*. Equus *bardatus*, in the Latin of the middle ages, was a horse adorned with military trappings. I have met with the word *barded* many times in our ancient chronicles and romances. An instance or two may suffice. "They mounted him surely upon a good and mighty courser, well *barded*," &c.

Hist. of Helyas Knight of the Swanne, bl. let. no date. Again, in Barrett's *Alvearie*, or *Quadruple Dictionary*, 1580:

"*Bardes* or trappers of horses. *Phaleræ*, Lat." Again, Holinshed speaking of the preparations for the battle of Agincourt: "——to the intent that if the *barded* horses ran fiercely upon them," &c. Again, p. 802, he says, that *bards* and *trappers* had the same meaning.

It is observed in the *Turkish Spy*, that the German cuirassiers, though armed and *barbed*, man and horse, were not able to stand against the French cavalry.

STEEVENS.

12. *He capers*——] War *capers*. This is poetical, though a little harsh; if it be York that capers, the antecedent is at such a distance, that it is almost forgotten. JOHNSON.

19. *Cheated of feature by* dissembling *nature*,] By *dissembling* is not meant *hypocritical* nature, that pretends one thing and does another; but nature that puts

puts together things of a dissimilar kind, as a brave soul and a deformed body. WARBURTON.

Dissembling is here put very licentiously for *fraudful, deceitful.* JOHNSON.

Dr. Johnson hath certainly mistaken, and Dr. Warburton rightly explained, the word *dissembling*; as is evident from the following extract: "Whyle thinges stoode in this case, and that the manner of addyng was sometime too short and sometime too long, els *dissembled* and let slip together."

Arthur Golding's translation of *Julius Solinus*, 1587. HENLEY.

27. *And* descant *on mine own deformity:*] *Descant* is a term in musick, signifying in general that kind of harmony wherein one part is broken and formed into a kind of paraphrase on the other. The propriety and elegance of the above figure, without such an idea of the nature of *descant*, could not be discerned.

Sir J. HAWKINS.

28. *And therefore—since I cannot prove a lover,*] Shakspere very diligently inculcates, that the wickedness of Richard proceeded from his deformity, from the envy that rose at the comparison of his own person with others, and which incited him to disturb the pleasures that he could not partake.

JOHNSON.

31. *And* hate *the idle pleasures*—] Perhaps we might read:

And bate *the idle pleasures*——— JOHNSON.

32. ——*inductions dangerous,*] Preparations for mischief. The *induction* is preparatory to the action of the play. JOHNSON.

Marston has put this line, with little variation, into the mouth of Fame:

"Plots ha' you laid? *inductions* dangerous?"

STEEVENS.

36. ——*Edward be as* true and just,] *i. e.* if Edward keeps his word. JOHNSON.

60. *And, for my name of George begins with G,* &c.] So, in Nicols's *Tragical Life and Death of King Richard III.*

"By that blind riddle of the letter G,
"*George* lost his life; it took effect in me."

STEEVENS.

62. ——*toys*—] Fancies, freaks of imagination. JOHNSON.

So *Hamlet*, act i. sc. 4.

"The very place puts *toys* of desperation
"Without more motive." REED.

78. *Humbly complaining,* &c.] I think these two lines might be better given to Clarence. JOHNSON.

83. *The jealous o'er-worn widow, and herself,*] That is, the queen and Shore. JOHNSON.

94. *Well* struck *in years*;] This odd expression in our language was preceded by one as uncouth though of a similar kind.

"*Well* shot *in years he seem'd,*" &c.

Spenser's *Faery Queen*, B. V. c. 6.

The meaning of neither is very obvious; but as Mr. Warton

Warton has observed in his Essay on the *Faery Queen*, by an imperceptible progression from one kindred sense to another, words at length obtain a meaning entirely foreign to their original etymology.

STEEVENS.

108. ———*the queen's abjects,*———] That is, not the queen's *subjects*, whom she might protect, but her *abjects*, whom she drives away. JOHNSON.

So, in *Case is altered. How? Ask Dalio and Millo*, 1604.

" This ougly object, or rather *abject* of nature."

HENDERSON.

111. *Were it, to call king Edward's widow—sister,*] This is a very covert and subtle manner of insinuating treason. The natural expression would have been, *were it to call king Edward's* wife, *sister*. I will solicit for you, though it should be at the expence of so much degradation and constraint, as to own the low-born wife of King Edward for a sister. But by slipping, as it were casually, *widow* into the place of *wife*, he tempts Clarence with an oblique proposal to kill the king. JOHNSON.

King Edward's widow is, I believe, only an expression of contempt, meaning the *widow Grey*, whom Edward had chosen for his queen. Gloster has already called her *the jealous o'er-worn widow*.

STEEVENS.

119. ——*I must perforce.*] Alluding to the proverb, " Patience, perforce, is a medicine for a mad dog."

STEEVENS.

135. ——*should be* mew'd,] A *mew* was the place of confinement where a hawk was kept till he had moulted. So, in *Albumazar:*

"Stand forth, transform'd Antonio, fully *mew'd*

"From brown soar feathers of dull yeomanry,

"To the glorious bloom of gentry."

STEEVENS.

141. *Now, by Saint* Paul,——] The folio reads:

Now, by Saint John,—— STEEVENS.

168. ——obsequiously *lament*] *Obsequious*, in this instance, means *funereal*. So, in *Hamlet*, act i. scene 2.

"*To do* obsequious *sorrow*." STEEVENS.

170. ——*key-cold*] A key, on account of the coldness of the metal of which it is composed, was anciently employed to stop any slight bleeding. The epithet is common to many old writers; among the rest, it is used by Decker in his *Satiromastix:*

"—It is best you hide your head, for fear your wise brains take *key-cold*."

Again, in the *Country Girl*, by T. B. 1647:

"The *key-cold* figure of a man." STEEVENS.

202. *I'll make a corse of him that disobeys.*] So, in *Hamlet:*

"*I'll make a ghost of him that lets me.*"

JOHNSON.

219. ——*pattern of thy butcheries:*] *Pattern* is *instance*, or *example*. JOHNSON.

Holinshed says: "The dead corps on the Ascension even was conveied with billes and glaives pompouslie (if you will call that a funerall pompe) from the Tower to the church of St. Paule, and there laid on a beire or coffen bare-faced; the same in the presence of the beholders did bleed; where it rested the space of one whole daie. From thense he was carried to the Black-friers, and bled there likewise," &c. STEEVENS.

220. ——*see! dead Henry's wounds*
Open their congeal'd mouths, and bleed afresh!—] It is a tradition very generally received, that the murdered body bleeds on the touch of the murderer. This was so much believed by Sir Kenelm Digby, that he has endeavoured to explain the reason. JOHNSON.

So, in *Arden of Feversham*, 1592:

"The more I sound his name, the more he bleeds:
"This blood condemns me, and in gushing forth
"Speaks as it falls, and asks me why I did it?"

Again, in the *Widow's Tears*, by Chapman, 1612:

"The captain will assay an old conclusion often approved; that at the murderer's sight the blood revives again and boils afresh; and every wound has a condemning voice to cry out guilty against the murderer."

Again, in the 46th *Idea* of Drayton:

"If the vile actors of the heinous deed,
"Near the dead body happily be brought,
"Oft 't hath been prov'd the breathless corps will *bleed*."

Mr.

Mr. Tollet observes that this opinion seems to be derived from the ancient Swedes, or Northern nations, from whom we descend; for they practised this method of trial in dubious cases, as appears from Pitt's *Atlas*, in Sweden, p. 20. STEEVENS.

243. *Vouchsafe*, diffus'd *infection of a man*,] *Diffus'd infection of a man* may mean, thou that art as dangerous as a pestilence, that infects the air by its diffusion. *Diffus'd* may, however, mean *irregular*. So, in *The Merry Wives*, &c.

" ——rush at once
" With some *diffused* song."

Again, in Green's *Farewell to Follie*, 1617:

" I have seen an English gentleman so *defused* in his sutes; his doubtlet being for the weare of Castile, his hose for Venice," &c.

265. *That laid their guilt*——] The crime of my brothers. He has just charged the murder of lady Anne's husband upon Edward. JOHNSON.

272. *O, he was gentle, mild, and virtuous*——

Glo. *The fitter for the king of heaven*, &c.] So, in *Pericles Prince of Tyre*, 1609:

" I'll do't: but yet she is a goodly creature.
" *Dion*. The fitter then the gods should have her." STEEVENS.

286. ——*a* slower *method*;—] As *quick* was used for *sprightly*, so *slower* was put for *serious*. In the next scene lord Grey desires the queen to

——cheer his grace with *quick* and merry words. STEEVENS.

290.

290. *Thou wast the cause, and most accurs'd effect.*] So, in the *Yorkshire Tragedy*, 1608:

" ————thou art the *cause*,
" *Effect*, quality, property; thou, thou."

STEEVENS.

325. ——*they kill me with a living death.*] In imitation of this passage, and, I suppose, of a thousand more, Pope writes,

" ————a living death *I bear*,
" *Says Dapperwit, and sunk beside his chair.*"

JOHNSON.

The same conceit occurs in *The Trimming of Tho. Nash*, 1597: " How happy the rat, caught in a trap, and there *dies a living death?*" STEEVENS.

Again, in our author's *Venus and Adonis*:

" For I have heard it [love] is *a life in death*,
" That laughs, and weeps, and all but with a breath." MALONE.

328. *These eyes, which never*, &c.] The twelve following beautiful lines added after the first editions. POPE.

They were added with many more. JOHNSON.

354. *But 'twas thy beauty*————] Shakspere countenances the observation, that no woman can ever be offended with the mention of her beauty. JOHNSON.

386. ——*Crosby-place:*] *Crosby-Place* is now *Crosby*-square in Bishopsgate-street; part of the house is yet remaining, and is a meeting-place for a presbyterian congregation. Sir J. HAWKINS.

399. *Imagine I have said farewel already.*] Cibber, who altered Richard III. for the stage, was so thoroughly convinced of the ridiculousness and improbability of this scene, that he thought himself obliged to make Tressel say:

When future chronicles shall speak of this,
They will be thought romance, not history.

STEEVENS.

419. *Fram'd in the prodigality of nature,*] *i. e.* when nature was in a prodigal or lavish mood.

WARBURTON.

420. ——*and, no doubt, right royal,*—] That is, *full of all the noble properties of a king. No doubt, right royal*, may, however, be ironically spoken, alluding to the incontinence of Margaret, his mother. STEEVENS.

427. ——*a beggarly denier,*] A *denier* is the twelfth part of a French sous, and appears to have been the usual request of a *beggar*. So, in the *Cunning Northerne Beggar*, bl. let. an ancient ballad:

"For still will I cry, good your Worship, good Sir
"Bestow one poor *denier*, Sir." STEEVENS.

454. *It is* determin'd, *not* concluded *yet:*] *Determin'd* signifies the final conclusion of the will: *concluded*, what cannot be altered by reason of some act consequent on the final judgment. WARBURTON.

475. *Ay, madam: he desires to make atonement*] Thus all the old editions that I have seen; but Mr. Pope altered it thus:

"Madam, we did; he seeks to make atonement;"

and

and has been followed by succeeding editors.
STEEVENS.

The 4to. of 1613, reads,

"Madam, we did."—— MALONE.

478. ——*to* warn *them*] *i. e.* to *summon*. So, in *Julius Cæsar*:

"They mean to *warn* us at Philippi here."
STEEVENS.

508. *Of your ill-will*, &c.] This line is restored from the first edition. POPE.

553. *Tell him, and spare not; look, what I have said*] This verse I have restored from the old quartos.
THEOBALD.

556. ——*my pains*——] My labours; my toils.
JOHNSON.

557. Out, *devil!*——] Mr. Lambe observes in his notes on the ancient metrical history of the *Battle of Floddon Field*, that *out* is an interjection of abhorrence or contempt, most frequent in the mouths of the common people of the north. It occurs again in act iv.

"————*out* on ye, owls!" STEEVENS.

564. ——*royalize*,] *i. e.* to make royal. So, in *Claudius Tiberius Nero*, 1607:

"Who means to-morrow for to *royalize*
"The triumphs," &c. STEEVENS.

568. ————*Was not your husband*
In Margaret's battle,————] It is said in *Henry VI.* that he died *in quarrel of the house of York*.
JOHNSON.

586.

586. *We follow'd then our lord, our* sovereign *king*;] The quarto of 1613 reads,——our *lawful* king;—which is, perhaps, better, as it justifies the attachment of his followers. MALONE.

597. *Hear me, you wrangling pirates*, &c.] This scene of Margaret's imprecations is fine and artful. She prepares the audience, like another Cassandra, for the following tragick revolutions. WARBURTON.

598. ——*which you have* pill'd *from me*:] To *pill* is to pillage. So, in the *Martyr'd Soldier*, by Shirley, 1638:

"He has not *pill'd* the rich, nor flay'd the poor."

STEEVENS.

To *pill*, is literally, to take off the outside or rind. Thus they say in Devonshire, to *pill* an apple, rather than *pare* it; and Shirley uses the word precisely in this sense. HENLEY.

602. *Ah, gentle villain*——] The meaning of *gentle* is not *tender* or *courteous*, but *high-born*. An opposition is meant between that and *villain*, which means at once a *wicked* and a *low-born wretch*. So before:

Since ev'ry Jack is made a gentleman,
There's many a gentle *person made a Jack.*

JOHNSON.

603. ——*what mak'st thou in my sight?*] An obsolete expression for—*what* dost *thou in my sight*. So, in *Othello*:

"Ancient, what *makes* he here?"

Margaret

Margaret in her answer takes the word in its ordinary acceptation. MALONE.

626. *Northumberland, then present, wept to see it.*] Alluding to a scene in *K. Henry VI.* Part III.

"What weeping ripe, my lord Northumberland?"

STEEVENS.

629. *And turn you all your hatred now on me?*] I would point thus:

And turn you all, your hatred now on me?

to shew that *all* is not to be joined in construction with *hatred*. That the poet did not intend that it should be connected with *hatred*, appears, I think, from the foregoing line,

What! were you snarling *all*, &c.

The quarto reads, perhaps better:

And turn you now your hatred, all on me?

MALONE.

633. *Could*, &c.] The folio reads:

Should all———

which is, perhaps, better. MALONE.

636. ——*by surfeit die your king*,] Alluding to his luxurious life. JOHNSON.

667. ——*elvish*-mark'd] The common people in Scotland (as I learn from Kelly's *Proverbs*) have still an aversion to those who have any natural defect or redundancy, as thinking them *mark'd* out for mischief. STEEVENS.

———*rooting hog!*] The expression is fine, alluding (in memory of her young son) to the ravage which hogs make, with the finest flowers, in gardens;

and intimating that Elizabeth was to expect no other treatment for her sons. WARBURTON.

She calls him *hog*, as an appellation more contemptuous than *boar*, as he is elsewhere termed from his ensigns armorial. There is no such heap of allusion as the commentator imagines. JOHNSON.

In the *Mirror for Magistrates* (a book already quoted) is the following *Complaint of Collingbourne, who was cruelly executed for making a rime :*

For where I meant the king by name of hog,
I only alluded to his badge the bore:
To Lovel's name I added more—our dog;
Because most dogs have borne that name of yore.
These metaphors I us'd with other more,
As cat and rat, the half-names of the rest,
To hide the sense that they so wrongly wrest.

That *Lovel* was once the common name of a dog, may be likewise known from a passage in *The Historie of Jacob and Esau*, an interlude, 1568:

"Then come on at once, take my quiver and my bowe;
"Fette *lovell my hounde*, and my horne to blowe."

The rhime for which Collingbourne suffered, was:

"A cat, a rat, and Lovel the dog,
"Rule all England under a hog." STEEVENS.

The rhime of Collingbourne is thus preserved in Heywood's *History of Edward IV.* Part II.

"The cat, the rat, and Lovell our dog,
"Doe rule all England under a hog.

"The

" The crooke backt boore the way hath found
" *To root our* roses *from our ground.*
" *Both* flower *and* bud will he confound,
" Till king of beasts the swine be crown'd:
" And then the dog, the cat and rat,
" Shall in his trough feed and be fat."

The propriety of Dr. Warburton's note, notwithstanding what Dr. Johnson hath subjoined, is fully confirmed by this satyr. HENLEY.

669. *The slave of nature,*———] The expression is strong and noble, and alludes to the ancient custom of masters branding their profligate slaves: by which it is insinuated, that his mis-shapen person was the mark that nature had set upon him to stigmatize his ill conditions. Shakspere expresses the same thought in *The Comedy of Errors:*

" *He is deformed, crooked,* &c.
" *Stigmatical in making,*———"

But as the speaker rises in her resentment, she expresses this contemptuous thought much more openly, and condemns him to a still worse state of slavery:

" *Sin, death, and hell, have set their* marks *on him.*"

Only, in the first line, her mention of his moral condition insinuates her reflections on his deformity: and, in the last, her mention of his deformity insinuates her reflections on his moral condition: And thus he has taught her to scold in all the elegance of figure. WARBURTON.

672. *Thou* rag *of honour!* &c.] This word of contempt is used again in *Timon:*

"If thou wilt curse, thy father, that poor *rag*,
"Must be the subject."

Again, in this play:

"These over-weening *rags* of France."

STEEVENS.

683. ——*flourish of my fortune!*] This expression is likewise used by Massinger in the *Great Duke of Florence:*

"——I allow these
"As *flourishings of fortune.*" STEEVENS.

684. ——*bottled spider,*] A spider is called bottled, because, like other insects, he has a middle slender, and a belly protuberant. Richard's form and venom, made her liken him to a spider.

JOHNSON.

709. *Witness my sun,* &c.] The folios read:

Witness my *sonne*——

Her distress cannot prevent her quibbling. It may be here remarked, that the introduction of Margaret, in this place, is against all historical evidence. She was ransomed and sent to France soon after Tewkesbury fight, and there passed the remainder of her wretched life. REMARKS.

712. *Your* aiery *buildeth in our* aiery's *nest:*—] An *aiery* is a hawk's or an eagle's nest. So, in Green's *Card of Fancy*, 1608:

"It is a subtle bird that breeds among the *aiery* of hawks."

Again,

Again, in Heywood's *Rape of Lucrece*, 1630:

"His high-built *aiery* shall be drown'd in blood."

Again, in Massinger's *Maid of Honour*:

"One *aiery*, with proportion, ne'er discloses

"The eagle and the wren." STEEVENS.

735. *Sin, death, and hell,*——] Possibly Milton took from hence the hint of his famous Allegory. BLACKSTONE.

744. *Live each of you the subjects to his hate,*

And he to yours, and all of you to God's!] It is evident from the conduct of Shakspere, that the house of Tudor retained all their Lancastrian prejudices, even in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. In this play of *Richard the Third*, he seems to reduce the woes of the house of York from the curses which queen Margaret had vented against them; and he could not give that weight to her curses, without supposing a right in her to utter them. WALPOLE.

747. ——*I* wonder *she's at liberty.*] Thus the quarto. The folio reads,

——I *muse*, why she's at liberty.

STEEVENS.

756. *He is* frank'd *up to fatting for his pains*;—] A *frank* is an old English word for a *hog-sty*. 'Tis possible he uses this metaphor to Clarence, in allusion to the crest of the family of York, which was a *boar*. Whereto relate those famous old verses on Richard III:

The cat, the rat, and Lovel the dog,

Rule all England under a hog.

He uses the same metaphor in the last scene of act iv. POPE.

A *frank* was not a common *hog-sty*, but the pen in which those hogs were confined of whom *brawn* was to be made. STEEVENS.

759. ——*done* scathe *to us.*] *Scathe* is harm, mischief.

So, in *Soliman and Perseda :*

" Whom now that paltry island keeps from *scath.*"

Again :

" Millions of men opprest with ruin and *scath.*" STEEVENS.

795. *Your eyes drop mill-stones, when fools' eyes drop tears :*] This, I believe, is a proverbial expression. It is used again in the tragedy of *Cæsar and Pompey*, 1607 :

" Men's eyes must *mill stones* drop, when fools shed tears." STEEVENS.

801. *So full of fearful dreams,*] The quarto 1613, has——*ghastly* dreams. MALONE.

802. ——*faithful man,*] Not an infidel. JOHNSON.

821. *What sights of ugly death*——] The quarto of 1613, reads——What *ugly sights* of *death.* MALONE.

825. *Inestimable stones*, unvalued *jewels,*] *Unvalu'd* is here used for *invaluable.* So, in *Lovelace's Posthumous Poems*, 1659 :

" —the

" ———the *unvalew'd* robe she wore
" Made infinite lay-lovers to adore."

Again:

" And what substantial riches I possess,
" I must to these *unvalew'd* dreams confess."

MALONE.

830. *That* woo'd *the slimy bottom*————] By seeming to gaze upon it; or, as we now say, to *ogle* it.

JOHNSON.

835. ————*but still the envious flood*
Kept *in my soul, and would not let it forth*
To seek the empty, vast, and wand'ring air.]

The folio reads:

Stop'd in my soul——

and instead of—*to seek* the empty, &c. has—*to find* the empty, &c. The quarto of 1613, evidently by a mistake of the compositor, reads:

To *keep* the empty, &c.

This line would, I think, be improved by a different punctuation:

To find the empty vast, and wandring air.

To find the *immense vacuity*, &c. *Vast* is used as a substantive, by our author, in other places. So, in *Pericles*:

" Thou God of this great *vast*, rebuke the surges—"

Again, in *The Winter's Tale*: " ——they have seemed to be together though absent; shook hands over a *vast*——"

MALONE.

844. ———*grim* ferryman.] The folio reads——*sour* ferryman. STEEVENS.

853. ———fleeting, *perjur'd Clarence*—] *Fleeting* is the same as *changing sides*. JOHNSON.

So, in *Antony and Cleopatra:*

———now the *fleeting* moon
No planet is of mine.

Clarence broke his oath with the earl of Warwick, and joined the army of his brother king Edward IV. STEEVENS.

856. ——*a legion of foul fiends*
Environ'd me, &c.] Milton seems to have thought on this passage where he is describing the midnight sufferings of *Our Saviour*, in the 4th book of *Paradise Regain'd:*

"——nor yet stay'd the terror there,
"Infernal ghosts, and *hellish furies* round
"*Environ'd* thee, some howl'd, some yell'd, some shriek'd——" STEEVENS.

867. *O God! if my deep prayers*, &c.] The four following lines have been added since the first edition. POPE.

874. *Sorrow breaks seasons*, &c.] In the common editions, the keeper is made to hold the dialogue with Clarence till this line. And here Brakenbury enters, pronouncing these words; which seem to me a reflection naturally resulting from the foregoing conversation, and therefore continued to be spoken by the same person, as it is accordingly in the first edition. POPE.

876.

876. *Princes have but their titles for their glories,*
An outward honour for an inward toil;] The first line may be understood in this sense, *The glories of princes are nothing more than empty titles.* JOHNSON.

878. ——*for unfelt imaginations,*
They often feel a world of restless cares:] They often suffer real miseries for *imaginary* and *unreal* gratifications. JOHNSON.

950. *Spoke like a tall fellow.*] The meaning of *tall*, in old English, is *stout, daring, fearless,* and *strong.* JOHNSON.

952. ——*the* costard] *i. e.* the head. See Note on *Love's Labour Lost,* act iii. sc. 1. STEEVENS.

958. ——*we'll reason*——] We'll talk. JOHNSON.

Are you call'd *forth from out a world of men,*] So, in *Nobody and Somebody,* 1598:

"Art thou *call'd* forth amongst a thousand men
"To minister this soveraign antidote?"

STEEVENS.

982. *What lawful* quest—] *Quest* is *inquest* or jury. JOHNSON.

987. ——*as you hope* to have redemption,] The folio reads—as you hope *for any goodness.* The quarto likewise adds:

By Christ's dear blood shed for our grievous sins.

STEEVENS.

1019. —*novice,*—] Youth; one yet *new* to the world. JOHNSON.

1055.

1055. ——*and save your souls*, &c.] The six following lines are not in the old edition. POPE.

They are not necessary, but so forced in, that something seems omitted to which these lines are the answer. JOHNSON.

1066. ——*what beggar pities not?*] Mr. Pope's note is not accurately stated. I believe this passage should be regulated thus:

Clar. Relent and save your souls.

1 *Vil.* Relent! 'tis cowardly and womanish.

Clar. Not to relent is beastly, savage, devilish.
Which of you if you were a prince's son
Being pent———
If two such———
Would not entreat for life?
My friend, I spy———
O, if thine eye———
Come thou on my side, and entreat for me,
As you would beg, were you in my distress.
A begging prince what beggar pities not?

TYRWHITT.

A begging prince what beggar pities not?] To this in the quarto, the murderer replies:

I, thus and thus: if this will not serve,
I'll chop thee in the malmesey but in the next roome.

And then stabs him. STEEVENS.

ACT

ACT II.

Line 55. ——*If I unwittingly*, or in my rage,
Have aught committed that is hardly borne] The folio and the quarto of 1613 add after *unwittingly*—"or in my rage." The metre is hurt by the addition, but the sense improved. MALONE.

69. *I do not know*, &c.] Milton in his EIKONOKΛΑΣΤΗΣ, has this observation: "The poets, and some English, have been in this point so mindful of decorum, as to put never more pious words in the mouth of any person, than of a tyrant. I shall not instance an abstruse author, wherein the king might be less conversant, but one whom we well know was the closet-companion of these his solitudes, William Shakspere; who introduced the person of Richard the Third, speaking in as high a strain of piety and mortification as is uttered in any passage in this book, and sometimes to the same sense and purpose with some words in this place; *I intended*, saith he, *not only to oblige my friends, but my enemies.* The like saith Richard, act ii. sc. 1.

"I do not know that Englishman alive
"With whom my soul is any jot at odds,
"More than the infant that is born to-night;
"I thank my God for my humility."

Other stuff of this sort may be read throughout the

tragedy, wherein the poet used not much licence in departing from the truth of history, which delivers him a deep dissembler, not of his affections only, but of religion." STEEVENS.

89. ——*some tardy cripple*, &c.] This is an allusion to a proverbial expression which Drayton has versified in the second canto of the *Baron's Wars*:

"I'll news hath wings, and with the wind doth go;
"Comfort's a *cripple*, and comes ever slow."

STEEVENS.

99. *The forfeit*,——] He means the *remission* of the forfeit. JOHNSON.

102. *Have I a tongue to doom my brother's death*,] This lamentation is very tender and pathetick. The recollection of the good qualities of the dead is very natural, and no less naturally does the king endeavour to communicate the crime to others. JOHNSON.

191. ——*his images*:] The children by whom he was represented. JOHNSON.

192. *But now, two* mirrors *of his princely semblance*
Are crack'd *in pieces by malignant* death;] So, in our author's *Rape of Lucrece*:

"Poor *broken glass*, I often did behold
"In thy sweet semblance my old age new born;
"But now, that fair fresh *mirror*, dim and old,
"Shows me a bare-boned *death* by time outworn."

Again, in his 3d Sonnet:

"Thou art thy mother's *glass*," &c. MALONE.

210. ———*being govern'd by the watry moon,*] That I may live hereafter under the influence of the moon, which governs the tides, and by the help of that influence drown the world. The introduction of the moon is not very natural. JOHNSON.

262. *Forthwith from Ludlow the young prince be fetch'd*] Edward the young prince, in his father's lifetime, and at his demise, kept his household at Ludlow, as prince of Wales, under the governance of Antony Woodville, earl of Rivers, his uncle by the mother's side. The intention of his being sent thither was to see justice done in the Marches; and, by the authority of his presence, to restrain the Welshmen, who were wild, dissolute, and ill-disposed, from their accustomed murders and outrages. Vide Hall, Holinshed, &c. THEOBALD.

285. ———*your* censures——] To *censure*, formerly meant to *deliver an opinion*. So, in Heywood's *Golden Age*, 1611:

"——yet if I *censure* freely,
"I needs must think that face and personage
"Was ne'er deriv'd from baseness."

STEEVENS.

288. *I'll sort occasion*
As index *to the story*——] *i. e.* preparatory—by way of prelude. So, in *Hamlet:*

"That storms so loud and thunders in the *index*."

See the note on that passage. MALONE.

299. ——*seldom comes a better:*] So, in *The English Courtier and Country Gentleman*, 4to. bl. let. 1586, "——as the proverb sayth, *seldome coms the better. Vall.* That proverb in deed is auncient, and for the most part true," &c. REED.

307. *Woe to that land, that's govern'd by a child!*] "Woe to thee, O land, when thy king is a child" *Ecclesiastes*, ch. x. STEEVENS.

337. *Before the days of change*, &c.] This is from Holinshed's *Chronicle*, Vol. III. p. 721. "Before such great things, men's hearts, of a secret instinct of nature, misgive them; as the sea without wind swelleth of himself some time before a tempest." TOLLET.

It is evident in this passage, that both Holinshed and Shakspere allude to St. Luke. See ch. xxi. 25, &c. HENLEY.

361. ——*the* wretched'st *thing*,——] *Wretched* is here used in a sense yet retained in familiar language, for *paltry*, *pitiful*, being below expectation. JOHNSON.

366. ——*been remember'd*,] *To be remembered* is, in Shakspere, to have one's memory quick, to have one's thoughts about one. JOHNSON.

378. *A* parlous *boy*;] *Parlous* is keen, shrewd. So, in *Law Tricks*, &c. 1608:

"A *parlous* youth, sharp and satirical." STEEVENS.

It is a corruption of *perilous*, dangerous; the sense it

it has here. The queen evidently means to chide him.

REMARKS.

381. *Enter a Messenger.*] The quarto reads—*Enter Dorset.* STEEVENS.

396. *The tyger now hath seiz'd the gentle* hind;] So, in our author's *Rape of Lucrece:*

"——While she, the picture of pure piety,
"Like a white *hind* under the grype's sharp claws.——" MALONE.

398. ——*awless*——] Not producing awe, not reverenced. To *jut upon* is to *encroach.* JOHNSON.

411. *Or let me die, to look on* earth *no more!*] This is the reading of all the copies, from the first edition put out by the players, downwards. But I have restored the reading of the old quarto in 1597, which is copied by all the other authentick quartos, by which the thought is finely and properly improved.

Or let me die, *to look on* death *no more.*

THEOBALD.

This quarto, printed in 1597, I have never seen, neither was it in Theobald's collection of the old copies, which the late Mr. Tonson possessed entire.

STEEVENS.

ACT III.

Line 1. ——*To your* chamber.] London was anciently called *Camera regia.* POPE.

So, in Heywood's *If you know not me you know Nobody*, 1633, 2d Part:

"This city, *our great chamber.*" STEEVENS.

This title it began to have immediately after the Norman conquest. See *Coke's* 4 Inst. 243, where it is styled *Camera Regis*; *Camden's Britannia*, 374. REED.

11. ——jumpeth *with the heart.*] So, in *Soliman and Perseda:*

"Wert thou my friend, thy mind would *jump* with mine." STEEVENS.

24. ——*in good time,*] As the French say, *à-propos.* STEEVENS.

45. *Too* ceremonious, *and* traditional:] *Ceremonious* for superstitious; *traditional* for adherent to old customs. WARBURTON.

46. *Weigh it but with the* grossness *of* this age,

You break not sanctuary——] That is, compare the act of seizing him with the *gross* and licentious practices of *these times*, it will not be considered as a violation of sanctuary, for you may give such reasons as men are now used to admit. JOHNSON.

55. *Oft have I heard of sanctuary men*, &c.] These arguments

arguments against the privilege of sanctuary are taken from Hall's Chron. p. 10. "——And verily, I have harde of sanctuarye menne, but I never hearde before of sanctuarye children," &c. STEEVENS.

77. *As 'twere* retail'd *to all posterity,*] *Retailed* may signify diffused, dispersed. JOHNSON.

Retailed is here used in reference to its signification in trade, and means *transferred, handed down from one to another.* HENLEY.

79. *So wise,* &c.] *Is cadit ante senem, qui sapit ante diem,* a proverbial line. STEEVENS.

82. *Thus, like the formal* vice, Iniquity,

I moralize—two meanings in one word.] By *vice,* the author means not a *quality,* but a *person.* There was hardly an old *play,* till the period of the *Reformation,* which had not in it a *devil,* and a droll character, a jester (who was to play upon the devil); and this buffoon went by the name of a *Vice.* This *buffoon* was at first accoutred with a long jerkin, a cap with a pair of ass's ears, and a wooden dagger, with which (like another Harlequin) he was to make sport in belabouring the *devil.* This was the constant entertainment in the times of *popery,* whilst spirits, and witchcraft, and exorcising held their own. When the *Reformation* took place, the stage shook off some grossities, and increased in refinements. The master-devil then was soon dismissed from the scene; and this buffoon was changed into a subordinate fiend, whose business was to range on earth, and seduce poor mortals into that personated vicious quality, which he occasionally

casionally supported; as, *iniquity* in general, *hypocrisy*, *usury*, *vanity*, *prodigality*, *gluttony*, &c. Now, as the fiend (or *vice*) who personated Iniquity (or Hypocrisy, for instance) could never hope to play his game to the purpose but by hiding his cloven foot, and assuming a semblance quite different from his real character, he must certainly put on a *formal* demeanour, *moralize* and prevaricate in his words, and pretend a *meaning* directly opposite to his *genuine* and *primitive intention*. If this does not explain the passage in question, it is all that I can at present suggest upon it. THEOBALD.

See the dissertation on the old *Vice* at the end of these notes.

A question may be added—To what equivocation Richard refers? The position immediately preceding, that *fame lives long without characters*, that is, without the help of letters, seems to have no ambiguity. He must allude to the former line:

So young so wise, they say, did ne'er live long,

in which he conceals, under a proverb, his design of hastening the prince's death. JOHNSON.

94. ——*lightly*—] Commonly, in ordinary course. JOHNSON.

So, in the old proverb: "There's lightning *lightly* before thunder." See Ray's *Prov.* p. 130. edit. 3d.

Again, in *Penny wise and Pound foolish*, &c.—"Misfortunes seldome walke alone, and so when blessings doe knocke at a man's dore, they *lightly* are not without followers and fellowes."

Holinshed, p. 725, concerning one of Edward's concubines; "——one whom no one could get out of

the church *lightly* to any place, but it were to his bed." Again, in Ben Jonson's *Cynthia's Revels:*

"He is not *lightly* within to his mercer."

STEEVENS.

97. ——*dread lord*;——] The original of this epithet applied to kings has been much disputed. In some of our old statutes, the king is called *Rex metuendissimus.* JOHNSON.

99. *Too* late *he died*,——] *i. e.* too lately, the loss is too fresh in our memory. WARBURTON.

"Too late" is again used in the sense of *too recently*, in our author's *Rape of Lucrece:*

"——I did give that life,
"Which she too early, and *too late* hath spill'd."

MALONE.

115. *And, being but a toy, which is no* gift *to give.*] This is the reading of the quartos; the first folio reads:

And, being but a toy, which is no grief *to give.*

This reading, made a little more metrical, has been followed, I think erroneously, by all the editors. JOHNSON.

The quarto 1612 reads:

——*no* grief—— STEEVENS.

122. *I weigh it lightly*, &c.] *i. e.* I should still esteem it but a trifling gift, were it heavier. WARBURTON.

So, in *Love's Labour's Lost*, act v. sc. 2.

"You *weigh* me not,—O that's you care not for me." STEEVENS.

131. *Because that I am little like an ape*,] The reproach seems to consist in this: at country shews it was

was common to set the monkey on the back of some other animal, as a *bear*. The duke therefore, in calling himself *ape*, calls his uncle *bear*. JOHNSON.

To this custom there seems to be an allusion in Ben Jonson's *Masque of Gypsies:*

" A gypsy in his shape,
" More calls the beholder,
" Than *the fellow with the ape,*
" Or *the ape on his shoulder.*"

Again, in *The first Part of the Eighth liberal Science, entituled, Ars Adulandi, &c. devised and compiled by Ulpian Fulwel*, 1576: " ——thou hast an excellent *back* to carry my lord's *ape.*" STEEVENS.

180. ——divided *councils,*] That is, a *private consultation, separate* from the known and publick council. So, in the next scene, Hastings says:

Bid him not fear the separated *councils.*

JOHNSON.

So, *Hall*, p. 13, " When the protectour had both the chyldren in his possession, yea, and that they were in a sure place, he then began to threst to se the ende of his enterprise. And, to avoyde all suspicion, he caused all the lordes whiche he knewe to bee faithfull to the kynge, to assemble at Baynardes Castle, to comen of the ordre of the coronacion, whyle he and other of his complices, and of his affinitee, at Crosbies-place, contrived the contrary, and to make the protectour kyng: to which counsail they were adhibite vere fewe, and they very secrete." REED.

194. ——*will* do;] The folio reads—will *determine.* STEEVENS.

202. *Scene II.*] Every material circumstance in the following scene is taken from the *Chronicles*, except that it is a *knight* with whom Hastings converses, instead of *Buckingham.* STEEVENS.

212. ———*the* boar *had* rased *off his helm:*] This term *rased* or *rashed*, is always given to describe the violence inflicted by a *boar.*

So, in *King Lear*, 4to. edit.

"In his anointed flesh *rash* boarish fangs."

Again, in Warner's *Albion's England*, 1602, B. VII. ch. 36:

"——ha, cur, avaunt, the bore so *rase* thy hide!"

By the *boar*, throughout this scene, is meant Gloster, who was called the *boar* or the *hog*, from his having a *boar* for his cognizance, and one of the supporters of his coat of arms. STEEVENS.

226. ———*wanting instance:*] That is, *wanting* some *example* or *act of malevolence*, by which they may be justified: or which, perhaps, is nearer to the true meaning, wanting any *immediate* ground or reason. JOHNSON.

The folio reads—*without* instance. STEEVENS.

276. ——*the holy* rood,] *i. e.* the cross. So, in the old mystery of *Candlemas-Day*, 1512:

"Whan hir swete sone shall on a *rood* deye."

Again, in Spenser's *Faery Queen*, B. VI. c. v:

"And nigh thereto a little chapell stoode
"Which being all with yvy overspred,

"Deck'd

"Deck'd all the roofe, and shadowing the *roode*,
"Seem'd like a grove fair branched overhed."
STEEVENS.

291. ——*have with you.*——] A familiar phrase in parting, as much as, *take something along with you*, or, *I have something to say to you.* JOHNSON.

293. *They, for their truth,*——] That is, with respect to their *honesty.* JOHNSON.

306. ——*hold it,*——] That is, *continue* it. JOHNSON.

311. ——*exercise*;] Performance of divine service. JOHNSON.

315. ——*shriving work in hand.*] *Shriving work* is *confession.* JOHNSON.

325. *Come, bring forth the prisoners.*] This speech is wanting in the folio. STEEVENS.

376. *Had you not come upon your* cue,——] This expression is borrowed from the theatre. The *cue*, *queue*, or *tail* of a speech, consists of the last words, which are the token for an entrance or answer. To *come on the cue*, therefore, is to come at the proper time. JOHNSON.

382. ——*I saw good strawberries*——] The reason why the bishop was dispatched on this errand, is not clearer in Holinshed and Hall, from whom Shakspere adopted the circumstance, than in this scene, where it is introduced. Nothing seems to have happened which might not have been transacted with equal security in the presence of the reverend cultivator of *these strawberries*, whose complaisance is likewise recorded

corded by the author of the Latin play on the same subject, in the Museum:

Eliensis antistes venis? senem quies,
Juvenem labor decet: ferunt hortum tuum
Decora fraga *plurimum producere.*
EPISCOPUS ELIENSIS.
Nil tibi claudetur hortus quod meus
Producit; esset lautius vellem mihi
Quo sim tibi gratus.

This circumstance of asking for the strawberries, however, may have been mentioned by the historians merely to shew the unusual affability and good humour which the dissembling Gloster affected, at the very time when he had determined on the death of Hastings. STEEVENS.

405. ——*likelihood*——] Semblance; appearance. JOHNSON.

So, in another of our author's plays:

——poor *likelihoods*, and modern seemings. STEEVENS.

423. *If!* &c.] For this circumstance see *Holinshed*, *Hall*, and *The Mirror of Magistrates*. FARMER.

427. *Lovel, and Catesby, look, that it be done;*] In former copies:

Lovel, and Ratcliff, look, that it be done.

The scene is here in the Tower; and lord Hastings was cut off on that very day, when Rivers, Grey, and Vaughan suffered at Pomfret. How then could Ratcliff be both in Yorkshire and the Tower? In the scene preceding this, we find him conducting those gentlemen to the block. In the old quarto, we find

it,

it, *Exeunt*; *Manet Catesby with Hastings.* And in the next scene, before the Tower walls, we find Lovel and Catesby come back from the execution, bringing the head of Hastings. THEOBALD.

Mr. Theobald should have added, that, *in the old quarto*, no names are mentioned in Richard's speech. He only says—"*some* see it done." Nor, *in that edition*, does *Lovel* appear in the next scene; but only *Catesby*, bringing the head of Hastings. The confusion seems to have arisen, when it was thought necessary that *Catesby* should be employed *to fetch* the mayor, who, in the quarto, is made to come without having been sent for. As some other person was then wanted to bring the head of Hastings, the poet, or the players, appointed *Lovel* and *Ratcliff* to that office, without reflecting that the latter was engaged in another service on the same day at Pomfret.

TYRWHITT.

428. *The rest, that love me, rise, and follow me.*] So, in *The Battle of Alcazar*, 1594:

"And they that love my honour, follow me."

MALONE.

433. *Three times to-day my* foot-cloth *horse did* stumble, &c.] So, in the *Legend of Lord Hastings*, by M. D.

My palfrey, in the plainest paved street,
Thrice bow'd his bones, thrice kneeled on the floor,
Thrice shunn'd (as Balaam's ass) the dreaded tower.

To *stumble* was anciently esteem'd a bad omen. So, in the *Honest Lawyer*. "And just at the threshold Master Bromley *stumbled*. Signs! signs!"

The

The *housings* of a horse, anciently denominated a *foot-cloth*. So, in Ben Jonson's play called *The Case is Altered*:

"I'll go on my *foot-cloth*, I'll turn gentleman."

Again, in *A fair Quarrel*, by Middleton, 1617:

"————thou shalt have a physician,
"The best that gold can fetch upon his *foot-cloth*."

Again, in *Ram-Alley*, or *Merry Tricks*, 1610:

"————nor shall I need to try
"Whether my well-greas'd tumbling *foot-cloth* nag
"Be able to out-run a well-breath'd catch-pole."

STEEVENS.

447. *Who builds*, &c.] So, Horace:

Nescius auræ *fallacis*. JOHNSON.

457. ——*in rusty armour*, &c.] Thus Holinshed: "—himselfe with the duke of Buckingham, stood harnessed in old ill-faring briganders, such as no man should weene that they would vouchsafe to have put upon their backes, except that some sudden necessitie had constreined them." STEEVENS.

482. ——*the earth a christian*;] Here the quarto adds:

Look you, my lord-mayor.

This hemistich I have inserted in the following speech of Buckingham, to which I believe it originally belonged; as without it we meet with an imperfect verse.

Well, well, he was the covert'st shelter'd traitor
That ever lived.

Would you imagine, &c. STEEVENS.

532. ——*put to death a citizen,*] This person was *one Walker*, a substantial citizen and grocer at the *Crown* in Cheapside. GREY.

539. ——*his* ranging *eye,*——] Thus the modern editors. The folio reads—*raging*—the quartos—*lustful.* STEEVENS.

560. This *Pinker* or *Penker* was provincial of the *Augustine* friars. See *Speed.* STEEVENS.

568. ——*read o'er in Paul's.*] The substance of this speech is from Hall's *Chronicle*, p. 16. "Nowe was thys proclamation made within twoo houres after that he was beheaded, and it was so curiously indyted, and so fayre writyen in parchment, in a fayre sette hande, and therewith of itselfe so long a processe, that every chyld might perceyve that it was prepared and studyed before (and as some men thought, by Catesby), for all the tyme betwene his death and the proclamacion coulde scant have suffyced unto the bare writyng alone," &c. STEEVENS.

579. ——*seen in thought.*] That is, seen in silence, without notice or detection. JOHNSON.

584. ——*lady Lucy,*] The king had been familiar with this lady before his marriage, to obstruct which his mother alleged a pre-contract between them: "Whereupon, says the historian, dame Elizabeth Lucye was sente for, and albeit she was by the kyng hys mother, and many other, put in good com-

fort

fort to affirme that she was assured to the kynge; yet when she was solempny sworne to say the truth, she confessed she was never ensured. Howbeit, she sayd his grace spake suche loving woordes to her, that she verily hoped that he would have married her; and that yf such kynde woordes had not bene, she woulde never have shewed such kindnesse to him to lette hym so kyndely gette her wyth chylde."

Hall, Edw. V. fol. 19.

REMARKS.

623. ——intend *some fear*;] One of the ancient senses of to *intend* was to *pretend*. So, in sc. v. of this act:

Tremble and start at wagging of a straw,
Intending deep suspicion. STEEVENS.

631. *As I can say*, nay *to thee*,] Buckingham is to plead for the citizens; and *if* (says Richard) *you speak for them as plausibly as I in my own person, or for my own purposes, shall seem to deny your suit, there is no doubt but we shall bring all to a happy issue*.

STEEVENS.

654. ———*to engross*——] To fatten; to pamper. JOHNSON.

673. ——*two Bishops*.] "At the last he came out of his chambre, and yet not doune to theim, but in a galary over theim, with a bishop on every hande of hym, where thei beneth might se hym and speke to hym, as thoughe he woulde not yet come nere them til he wist what they meante, &c." *Hall's Chronicle*.

FARMER.

706. *And almost* shoulder'd in *the swallowing gulph*
Of dark forgetfulness————] So, in the *Baron's Wars*, by Drayton, Canto I:

"Stoutly t' affront and *shoulder* in debate."

STEEVENS.

Shoulder'd is, Not, thrust in by the shoulders, but, immersed *up to the shoulders.*
So, in *Othello:*

"*Steep* me in poverty *to the very lips.*"

MALONE.

708. *Which to* recure,] To *recure* is to *recover.* This word is frequently used by Spenser; and both as a verb and a substantive in Lylly's *Endymion*, 1591.

STEEVENS.

744. *And much I need to help you,*—] And I *want much* of the ability requisite to give you help, if help were needed. JOHNSON.

767. ——*loath'd* bigamy:] *Bigamy*, by a canon of the council of Lyons, A. D 1274, (adopted in England by a statute in 4 Edw. I.) was made unlawful and infamous. It differed from *polygamy*, or having two wives at once; as it consisted in either marrying two virgins successively, or once marrying a widow.

BLACKSTONE.

789. ——*effeminate* remorse,] *i. e.* pity.

STEEVENS.

ACT IV.

Line 1. *WHO meets us here?—my niece Plantagenet,*
Led in the hand of her kind aunt of Gloster?]
Here is a manifest intimation that the dutchess of Gloster leads in somebody in her hand; but there is no direction marked in any of the copies, from which we can learn who it is. I have ventured to guess it must be Clarence's young daughter. The old dutchess of York calls her *niece*, i. e. grand-daughter; as grand-children are frequently called *nephews*.

THEOBALD.

28. *I may not leave it so*;] That is, *I may not so resign my office*, which you offer to take on you at your peril. JOHNSON.

62. *Were red-hot steel, to seer me to the brain!*] She seems to allude to the ancient mode of punishing a regicide, viz. by placing a crown of iron heated red-hot, upon his head. In the *Tragedy of Hoffman*, 1631, this punishment is introduced:

"Fix on thy master's head my *burning crown*."

Again:

"And wear his crown made hot with flaming fire.

"Bring forth the *burning crown* there."

Again:

"———was adjudg'd

"To have his head *sear'd* with a *burning crown*."

In some of the monkish accounts of a place of future torment, a *burning crown* is appropriated to those who deprived any lawful monarch of his kingdom.

STEEVENS.

84. *For never yet one* hour *in his bed*] *Hour* is here, as in many other places, used by Shakspere as a dissyllable. MALONE.

86. *But with his timorous dreams*———] It is recorded by Polydore Virgil, that Richard was frequently disturbed by terrible dreams: this is therefore no fiction JOHNSON.

98. ———*of teen.*] *Teen* is sorrow. So, in *Romeo and Juliet:*

"And yet to my *teen* be it spoken," &c.

Again, in the *Return from Parnassus*, 1606:

"Flies have their spleen, each silly ant his *teens.*"

STEEVENS.

103. *Rude ragged nurse! old sullen play-fellow*] To call the Tower *nurse* and *play-fellow* is very harsh: perhaps part of this speech is addressed to the Tower, and part to the lieutenant. JOHNSON.

105. *So foolish sorrow bids your stones farewel.*] Hither the third act should be extended, and here it very properly ends with a pause of action.

JOHNSON.

113. *Ah, Buckingham, now do I* play *the touch,*] To *play the touch*, is *to represent the touchstone.*

So, in the 16th Song of Drayton's *Polyolbion:*

"With alabaster, *tuch*, and porphyry adorn'd."

Again,

Again, in the epistle of *Mary the French Queen* to *Charles Brandon*, by Drayton:

"Before mine eye, like *touch*, thy shape did prove."

Again, in Spenser's *Faery Queen*, B. I. c. iii:

"Though true as *touch*, though daughter of a king." STEEVENS.

133. ——*see, he gnaws his lip.*] Several of our ancient historians observe, that this was an accustomed action of Richard, whether he was pensive or angry. STEEVENS.

133. *And* unrespective *boys:*——] *Unrespective* is inattentive, taking no notice, inconsiderate.

So, in Daniel's *Cleopatra*, 1599:

"When dissolute impiety possess'd
"The *unrespective* minds of prince and people." STEEVENS.

141. ————*close exploit*——] Is secret act. JOHNSON.

149. ——*witty*——] In this place signifies *judicious* or cunning. A *wit* was not at this time employed to signify *a man of fancy*, but was used for *wisdom* or *judgment*. So, in Daniel's *Cleopatra*, 1599:

"Although unwise to live, had *wit* to die."

Again:

"And at her feet do *witty serpents* move."

One of Ben Jonson's *Masques*. STEEVENS.

170. ————*But I am in*
So far in blood, that sin will pluck on sin.]

The

The same reflections occur in *Macbeth*:

"*I am in blood*
"*Step'd in so far, that should I wade no more,*
"*Returning were as tedious,*" &c.

Again:

"*Things bad begun make strong themselves by ill.*"

STEEVENS.

173. *Is thy name—Tyrrel?*] It seems, that a late editor (who boasts much of his fidelity in "marking the places of action, both general and particular, and supplying scenical directions"), throughout this scene, has left king Richard *on his throne*; whereas he might have learnt, from the following passage in Sir John Harrington's *Metamorphosis of Ajax*, 1596, that the monarch appeared, during the present interview with Tyrrel, on an *elevation of much less dignity*. "The best part (says Sir John) of our chronicles, in all men's opinions, is that of Richard the third, written as I have heard by Moorton, but as most suppose, by that worthy and incorrupt magistrate Sir Thomas More, sometime lord chancellor of England, where it is said, how the king was devising with *Teril* to have his nephews privily murdred; and it is added, *he was then sitting on a draught*; a fit carpet for such a counsel." See likewise *Holinshed*, Vol. III. p. 735.

STEEVENS.

205. *A king!—perhaps—*] From hence to the words, *Thou troublest me, I am not in the vein*—have been left out ever since the first editions, but I like them well enough to replace them. POPE.

The

The allusions to the plays of *Henry VI.* are no weak proofs of the authenticity of these disputed pieces.

JOHNSON.

223. *Because that, like a Jack,* &c.] An image, like those at Dunstan's church in Fleet-street, and at the market-houses at several towns in this kingdom, was usually called a *Jack of the clock-house.* See Cowley's *Discourse on the Government of Oliver Cromwell.* Richard resembles Buckingham to one of those automatons, and bids him not suspend the stroke on the clock-bell, but strike, that the hour may be past, and himself be at liberty to pursue his meditations.

Sir J. HAWKINS.

So, in *The Fleire,* a comedy, 1610:—"their tongues are, like *a Jack o' the clock,* still in labour."

Again, in *The Coxcomb,* by Beaumont and Fletcher:

"——Is this your *Jack o' the clock*-house?

"Will you *strike,* sir?"

Again, in a pamphlet by Deckar, called the *Gul's Horn-booke,* 1609: "——but howsoever, if Powles *Jacks* be once up with their elbowes, and quarrelling to strike eleven, as soon as ever the clock has parted them, and ended the fray with his hammer, let not the duke's gallery conteyne you any longer."

In *Lantern and Candle-light,* or the *Belman's Second Night-Walk,* &c. by Decker, is a passage "of a new and cunning drawing of money from gentlemen," which may tend to a somewhat different explanation. "There is another fraternitie of wandring pilgrims, who merrily call themselves *Jackes of the Clock-house.*

The

The *jacke of a clock-house* goes upon screws, and his office is to do nothing but *strike:* so does this noise (for they walke up and down like fidlers) travaile with motions, and whatever their motions get them, is called *striking*."

Perhaps these figures were called *Jacks*, because the engines of that name which turn the spit, were anciently ornamented with such a puppet. In the *Gentlemen Usher*, a comedy by Chapman, 1606, they are alluding to a roasting *Jack*; and a man says:

" —as in that quaint engine you have seen
" *A little man in shreds* stand at the wi :der,
" And seem to put all things in act about him,
" Lifting and pulling with a mighty stir,
" Yet adds no force to it, nor nothing does."

STEEVENS.

A Jack with such a figure as Chapman hath described was for many years exhibited, as a sign, at the door of a White-Smith's shop in the narrowest part of the Strand. HENLEY.

240. *O thus, quoth Dighton, lay the gentle babes,—*
Thus, thus, quoth Forrest, girdling one another
Within their alabaster innocent arms:——
A book of prayers on their pillow lay;—] These circumstances were probably adopted from the old song of *The most cruel Murther of Edward V.* &c. in *The Golden Garden of Princely Delight*. The thirteenth edition of this collection was published in 1690:

" When

"When these sweet children thus were laid in bed,
"And to the Lord their hearty prayers had said,
"Sweet slumbring sleep then closing up their eyes,
"Each folded in the other's arms then lyes."

It must be owned, however, that there is nothing to assist us in ascertaining the exact date of this and many others of our ancient ballads. STEEVENS.

270. *The son of Clarence have* I pen'd up close;] In Sheriff Hutton castle: where he remained till the coming of Henry VII. who immediately after the battle of Bosworth sent him to the Tower, and some few years after, most treacherously and barbarously put him to death; being, from a total want of education and commerce with mankind, so ignorant, that he could not, according to *Hall*, discern a goose from a capon. With this unfortunate young nobleman ended the male line of the illustrious house of Plantagenet. REMARKS.

271. *His daughter meanly have I match'd in marriage*;] To Sir Richard Pole, knt. This lady, at seventy years of age, without any legal process, and for no crime but her relation to the crown, was beheaded in the Tower by that sanguinary tyrant Henry VIII. Her son, lord Montague, had been put to death a few years before, in the same manner, and for the same crime; and the famous Cardinal Pole, another of her children, only escaped the fate of his mother and

and brother, by keeping out of the butcher's reach. REMARKS.

285. ———*fearful commenting*
Is leaden servitor———] Timorous thought and cautious disquisition are the dull attendants on delay. JOHNSON.

292. ———*begins to mellow*, &c.] The same thought occurs in Marston's *Antonio and Mellida*, 1602:

"——now is his fate grown mellow,
"Instant to fall into the rotten jaws
"Of chap-fall'n death." STEEVENS.

296. —*dire induction*——] *Induction* is preface, introduction, first part. It is so used by Sackville in our author's time. JOHNSON.

306. ———*say, that* right *for* right] *Right* for *right*, is *justice answering to the claims of justice*. So, in this play:

——*That forehead*
Where should be branded, if that right were right.— JOHNSON.

327. ——*signiory*,] For *seniority*. JOHNSON.
So, in Stowe's *Chronicle*, edit. 1615, p. 149:
"—the son of Edmund, the son of Edward the *seignior*, the son of Alured," &c. STEEVENS.

344. *That reigns*, &c.] This and the preceding line have been omitted by all the modern editors, Rowe excepted. STEEVENS.

349. *And makes her pue-fellow*—] *Pue-fellow* seems to be companion. We have now a new phrase, nearly equivalent,

equivalent, by which we say of persons in the same difficulties, that they are in *the same box.* JOHNSON.

Pue-fellow is a word yet in use. Sir J. HAWKINS.

I find the word in *Northward Hoe*, a comedy, by Decker and Webster, 1607:

"He would make him *pue-fellow* with a lord's steward at least."

Again, in *Westward-Hoe*, by Decker and Webster, 1606:

"—being both my scholars, and your honest *pue-fellows.*" STEEVENS.

356. *Young York he is but boot,*——] *Boot* is that which is thrown in to mend a purchase. JOHNSON.

360. *The* adulterate *Hastings,*—] I believe Shakspere wrote:

The adulterer *Hastings,*——— WARBURTON.

Adulterate is right. We say *metals* are *adulterate*; and *adulterate* sometimes means the same as *adulterer.* In either sense, on this occasion, the epithet will suit. Hastings was *adulterate*, as Margaret had try'd his friendship and found it faithless; he was an *adulterer*, as he cohabited with Jane Shore during the life of her husband. So, the Ghost in *Hamlet*, speaking of the King, says:

"—that incestuous, that *adulterate* beast."

STEEVENS.

376. *The flattering* index *of a direful* pageant,] *Pageants* are dumb shews, and the poet meant to allude to one of these, the index of which promised a happier conclusion. The pageants then displayed on

publick occasions were generally preceded by a brief account of the order in which the characters were to walk. These indexes were distributed among the spectators, that they might understand the meaning of such allegorical stuff as was usually exhibited. The index of every book was anciently placed before the beginning of it. STEEVENS.

379. ———*a garish flag,*
To be the aim of every dangerous shot;] Alluding to the dangerous situation of those persons to whose care the standards of armies were intrusted. STEEVENS.

396. ——wheel'd *about*,] Thus the quartos. The folio—*whirl'd* about. STEEVENS.

418. *Windy attorneys to* their client woes,] In former editions this line was read thus:

Windy attorneys to your client's woes.

The emendation is Sir Thomas Hanmer's. JOHNSON.

449. ——*a* touch *of your* condition,] A *spice* or *particle* of your *temper* or *disposition*. JOHNSON.

So, in Chapman's translation of the 24th *Iliad*:

" ——his cold blood embrac'd a fiery *touch*
" Of anger," &c. STEEVENS.

467. *That ever* grac'd *me*——] To *grace* seems here to mean the same as to *bless*, to make happy. So, *gracious* is kind, and *graces* are favours. JOHNSON.

468. ———*Humphry Houre*,—] This may probably be an allusion to some affair of gallantry of which

the dutchess had been suspected. I cannot find the name in Holinshed. Surely the poet's fondness for a quibble has not induced him at once to personify and christen that *hour* of the day which summon'd his mother to breakfast.

So, in *The Wit of a Woman*, 1592:

"Gentlemen, time makes us brief: our old mistress, *Houre*, is at hand."

The common cant phrase of *dining with duke Humphrey*, I have never yet heard satisfactorily explained. It appears, however, from a satirical pamphlet called the *Guls Horn-booke*, 1609, written by T. Decker, that in the ancient church of St. Paul, one of the ailes was called *Duke Humphrey's Walk*, in which those who had no means of procuring a dinner, affected to loiter. Decker concludes his fourth chapter thus: "By this I imagine you have walked your bellyful, and thereupon being weary, or (which is rather, I beleeve) being most gentleman-like, hungry, it is fit that as I brought you unto the *duke*, so (because he followes the fashion of great men in *keeping no house*, and that therefore you must go *seeke your dinner*) suffer me to take you by the hand and leade you into an ordinary." The title of this chapter is, "How a gallant should behave himself in *Powles Walkes*."

Hall, in the 7th *Satire*, B. III. seems to confirm this interpretation:

"'Tis Ruffio: Trow'st thou where he din'd today?

"In sooth I saw him sit with *duke Humfray*:

" Manie good welcoms, and much gratis cheere,
" Keepes he for everie stragling cavaliere;
" An open house haunted with greate resort,
" *Long service* mixt with *musicall disport*," &c.

Hall's *Satires*, Edit. 1602, p. 60.

See likewise *Foure Letters* and certain *Sonnets*, by Gabriel Harvey, 1592:

" ——to seeke his dinner in Poules with *duke Humphrey*: to licke dishes, to be a beggar."

Again, in the *Return of the Knight of the Post*, &c. by Nash, 1606: "—in the end comming into Poules, to behold the old *duke and his guests*," &c.

Again, in *A wonderful, strange, and miraculous Prognostication, for this Year*, &c. 1591, by Nash: " ——sundry fellowes in their silkes shall be appointed to keepe *duke Humfrye* company in Poules, because they know not where to get their dinners abroad."

If it be objected that *duke Humphrey* was buried at St. Albans, let it likewise be remembered that cenotaphs were not uncommon. STEEVENS.

490. *Shame serves thy life,——*] To *serve* is to *accompany*, servants being near the persons of their masters. JOHNSON.

493. *Stay, madam,——*] On this dialogue it is not necessary to bestow much criticism: part of it is ridiculous, and the whole improbable. JOHNSON.

506. *——she is of royal blood.*] The folio reads—she is *a royal princess*. STEEVENS.

510. *Lo, at their births*—] Perhaps we should read —*No*, at their births— TYRWHITT.

522. *'Till it was whetted on thy stone-hard heart,*] This conceit seems to have been a great favourite of Shakspere. We meet with it more than once. In *K. Henry IV.* Part II:

"Thou hid'st a thousand daggers in thy thoughts,
"Which thou hast whetted on thy stony heart,
"To stab," &c.

Again, in the *Merchant of Venice:*

"Not on thy soal, but on thy soul, harsh Jew,
"Thou mak'st thy knife keen———"

STEEVENS.

539. *The high imperial* type—] *Type* is exhibition, shew, display. JOHNSON.

The canopy placed over a pulpit is still called by architects a *type*. It is, I apprehend, in a similar sense that the word is here used. HENLEY.

542. *Canst thou* demise—] To *demise* is *to grant*, from *demittere*, to devolve a right from one to another. STEEVENS.

545. *So in the* Lethe *of thy angry soul*
Thou drown the sad remembrance of those wrongs,]
So, in *King Henry IV.* Part II:

"*May this be* wash'd *in* Lethe, *and forgotten.*"

STEEVENS.

571. ——*as sometime Margaret*] Here is another reference to the plays of *Henry VI.* JOHNSON.

587. *Nay, then indeed, she cannot choose, but* hate *thee,*] The sense seems to require that we should read,

———*but* love *thee*,

ironically. TYRWHITT.

588. ——*bloody spoil.*] *Spoil* is waste, havock. JOHNSON.

602. ——*bid like sorrow.*] *Bid* is in the past tense from *bide*. JOHNSON.

644. ——*which the king's King forbids.*] Alluding to the prohibition in the Levitical law. See Leviticus xviii. 14. GREY.

648. *But how long shall that title, ever, last?*] Young has borrowed this thought in his *Universal Passion*:

"But say, my all, my mistress, and my friend,
"What day next week th' eternity shall end?"

STEEVENS.

653. ——*am her subject* low.] Thus the folio. The quartos read:

———*her subject* love. STEEVENS.

662. *Harp not*, &c.] In the regulation of these short pieces I have followed the first and second quartos. STEEVENS.

681. ——*with* heaven.] The quarto reads—by *him*. The folio—with *him*. STEEVENS.

684. ———*by him.*] Thus all the old copies. The modern ones read:

———*with* heaven.

I have restored the old reading, because *him* (the oblique case of *he*) was anciently used for *it*, in a *neutral sense*. STEEVENS.

Shakspere,

Shakspere, I have no doubt, wrote *by him* in both places. This appears from the first words of this speech, which begun originally:

God's wrong is most of all.

The players probably substituted *Heaven* instead of the sacred name, in this and many other places, after the passing of the stat. 3 Jac. I. c. 21.; and having changed—*God*'s wrong—to *Heaven*'s wrong, it became necessary to read, "an oath *with Heaven*," instead of "an oath *by him*." MALONE.

688. *Which now*, two *tender*, &c.] Mr. Roderick observes, that the word *two* is without any force, and would read:

Which now too *tender*, &c. STEEVENS.

728. ——*in that nest of spicery*,——] Alluding to the phœnix. STEEVENS.

744. *Some light-foot friend post to the duke*—] Richard's precipitation and confusion is in this scene very happily represented by inconsistent orders, and sudden variations of opinion. JOHNSON.

770. ——white-liver'd *runagate*,] This epithet, descriptive of cowardice, is not peculiar to Shakspere. Stephen Gosson in his *School of Abuse*, 1579, speaking of the Helots, says,

"Leave those precepts to the *white-livered* Hylotes." STEEVENS.

777. *What heir of York*——] *i. e.* What son of Richard duke of York? REMARKS.

811. ——*more competitors*] That is, more opponents. JOHNSON

847. *Sir Christopher, tell Richmond this from me:*—] The person, who is called Sir Christopher here, and who has been styled so in the *Dramatis Personæ* of all the impressions, I find by the chronicles to have been Christopher Urswick, a bachelor in divinity; and chaplain to the countess of Richmond, who had intermarried with the lord Stanley. This priest, the history tells us, frequently went backwards and forwards, unsuspected, on messages betwixt the countess of Richmond, and her husband, and the young earl of Richmond, whilst he was preparing to make his descent on England. THEOBALD.

Dr. Johnson has observed, that *Sir* was anciently a title assumed by graduates. This the late Mr. Guthrie disputes; and says, it was a title sold by the pope's legates, &c. that his holiness might be on the same footing with the king. STEEVENS.

In the *Scornfull Lady* of Fletcher, Welford says to Sir Roger, the curate, "I acknowledge you to be your *art's master*."—"I am but a *bachelor of art*, sir," replies Sir Roger. Mr. Guthrie would have done well to have informed us, how Sir Roger could possibly have *bought* his *title* of the pope's nuncio; when, as Abigail tells us, he had only "twenty nobles *de claro*, besides his pigges *in posse*." FARMER.

ACT V.

Line 1. *WILL not king Richard let me speak with him?*] The reason why the duke of Buckingham solicited an interview with the king, is explained in *King Henry VIII.* act i.

" ——I would have play'd
" The part my father meant to act upon
" The usurper Richard; who, being at Salisbury,
" Made suit to come in his presence; which, if granted,
" As he made semblance of his duty, would
" Have put his knife into him." STEEVENS.

See also Hall's Chronicle, Richard III. fo. 16. REED.

19. *Is the determin'd* respite *of my wrongs.*] Hanmer has rightly explained it, the time to which the punishment of his wrongs was *respited.*

Wrongs in this line means *wrongs* done, or injurious practices. JOHNSON.

29. ——*blame the due of blame.*] This scene should, in my opinion, be added to the foregoing act, so the fourth act will have a more full and striking conclusion, and the fifth act will comprise the business of the important day, which put an end to the competition of York and Lancaster. Some of the quarto editions are not divided into acts, and it is probable, that this and many other plays were left by the author in

in one unbroken continuity, and afterwards distributed by chance, or what seems to have been a guide very little better, by the judgment or caprice of the first editors. JOHNSON.

39. ——*embowell'd bosoms*,——] Exenterated; ripped up; alluding, perhaps, to the Promethean vulture; or, more probably, to the sentence pronounced in the English courts against traitors, by which they are condemned to be hanged, *drawn*, that is, *embowelled*, and quartered. JOHNSON.

Drawn, in the sentence pronounced upon traitors only, signifies to be *drawn by the heels or on a hurdle* from the prison to the place of execution. So, Dr. Johnson has properly expounded it in *Measure for Measure*, act ii. So, Holinshed in the year 1569, and Stowe's *Chronicle*, edit. 1614, p. 162, 171, 418, 763, 766. Sometimes our historians use a colloquial inaccuracy of expression in writing, hanged, *drawn*, and quarter'd; but they often express it—*drawn*, hanged, and quartered; and sometimes they add—bowelled, or his bowels taken out, which would be tautology, if the same thing was implied in the word *drawn*. TOLLET.

Drawn in the sense of *embowelled*, is never used but in speaking of a *fowl*. It is true, *embowelling* is also part of the sentence in high treason, but in order of time it comes after *drawing* and *hanging*. BLACKSTONE.

46. ——*conscience is a thousand swords*,] Alluding to the old adage, "*Conscientia mille testes*." BLACKSTONE.

70. ——*sound direction* :—] True judgment; tried military skill. JOHNSON.

77. *Give me some ink and paper*—] I have placed these lines here as they stand in the first editions: the rest place them three speeches before, after the words *Sir William Brandon, you shall bear my standard*; interrupting what there follows; *The earl of Pembroke*, &c. I think them more naturally introduced here, when he is retiring to his tent; and considering what he has to do that night. POPE.

I have followed the folio, which, of this play, is by far the most correct copy. I do not find myself much influenced by Mr. Pope's remark. STEEVENS.

120. ——*Give me a* watch:—] A *watch* has many significations, but I should believe that it means in this place not a centinel, which would be regularly placed at the king's tent; nor an instrument to measure time, which was not used in that age; but a watch-light, a candle to burn by him; the light that afterwards *burnt blue*; yet a few lines after, he says:

Bid my guard watch,

which leaves it doubtful whether *watch* is not here a sentinel. JOHNSON.

A *watch*, i. e. guard, would certainly be placed about a royal tent, without any request of the king concerning it.

I believe, therefore, that particular kind of candle is here meant, which was anciently called a *watch*, because, being marked out into sections, each of which

was

was a certain portion of time in burning, it supplied the place of the more modern instrument by which we measure the hours. I have seen these candles represented with great nicety in some of the pictures of Albert Durer.

Barret, in his *Alvearie*, 1580, mentions *watching* lamps or candles. So, in *Love in a Maze*, 1632:

" ——slept always with a *watching* candle."

Again, in *The Noble Soldier*, 1634:

" Beauty was turn'd into a *watching-candle* that went out stinking."

Again, in the *Return from Parnassus*, 1606:

" Sit now immur'd within their private cells,
" And drink a long lank *watching* candle's smoke."

Again, in *Albumazar*, 1610:

" Sit up all night like a *watching* candle."

STEEVENS.

Lord Bacon mentions a species of light called an *all-night*, which is a wick set in the middle of a large cake of wax. JOHNSON.

121. *Saddle white Surrey for the field to-morrow.*] So, in Holinshed, p. 754:

" ——he was mounted on a great *white courser*," &c. STEEVENS.

122. *Look that my* staves *be sound,*—] *Staves* are the wood of the lances. JOHNSON.

As it was usual to carry more lances than one into the field, the lightness of them was an object of consequence. *Hall* informs us, that at the justs in honour of

of the marriage of Mary, the younger sister of king Henry VIII. with the king of France, that "a gentleman called Anthony Bownarme came into the feld all armed, and on his body brought in sight x speres, that is to wyt, ii speres set in every styroppe forward, and under every thigh ii speres upwarde, and under his left arme was one spere backward, and the 10th in his hand," &c. STEEVENS.

127. *Much about* cock-shut *time,*——] Ben Jonson uses the same expression in one of his entertainments.

"For you would not yesternight,
"Kiss him in the *cock-shut* light."

Again, in the *Widow*, by B. Jonson, Fletcher, and Middleton, 1652:

"Come away then: a fine *cockshut* evening,"

Again:

"In the twilight, *cockshut* light."

Arden of Feversham, 1592.

In the *Treatyse of Fyshynge with the Angle*, by dame Julyana Bernes, 1496, among the directions to make a fishing rod is the following: "Take thenne and frette him faste with a *cokeshote corde*," &c. but I cannot intepret the word. STEEVENS.

Cock-shut time,] *i. e.* twilight. In Mr. Whalley's note upon *Ben Jonson*, Vol. V. p. 204. "*Cockshut* is said to be a net to catch woodcocks; and as the time of taking them in this manner is in the twilight, either after sun-set or before its rising, *cockshut* light may very properly express the evening or the morning twilight." The particular form of such a net, and

the manner of using it, is delineated and described in *Dictionarium Rusticum*, 2 vols. 8vo. 3d edit. 1726, under the word *cock-roads*. It is the custom of the woodcock to lie close all day, and towards evening he takes wing, which act of flight might anciently be termed his *shoot* or *shot*. So, the ballast of a ship is said to *shoot*, when it runs from one side to the other. This etymology gives us, perhaps, the original signification of the word, without any recourse for it to the name of a net, which might receive its denomination from the time of the day, or from the occasion on which it was used; for I believe there was a net which was called a *cock-shot*. Holinshed's *Description of Britain*, p. 110, calls a stone which naturally has a hole in it, "an apt *cocke-shot* for the devil to run through;" which, I apprehend, alludes to the resemblance of the hole in the stone to the meshes of a net. TOLLET.

Mr. Tollet's opinion may be supported by the following passage in a little metrical performance, called, *No Whippinge nor Trippinge: but a kinde friendly Snippinge*, 1601:

"A silly honest creature may do well
"To watch a *cocke-shoote*, or a limed bush."

STEEVENS.

I must support my interpretation against Mr. Tollet. He in part admits, and then proceeds to overthrow it. And I will support it by the very instance Mr. Steevens adduced in his favour. The ballast of a ship may be said to *shoot*; as we now say, to *shoot* coals, or corn out of a sack; but it was never yet said

said that a woodcock *shoots*, when he takes his evening flight. *Cocke-shoote*, in the passage you cite, is certainly a substantive, and the accusative case after the verb *watch*, which is confirmed by what follows, *or a limed bush*. And when the *cockshut net* is fixed, a person always stands by to watch and manage it. A similar expression is in Hall's Satires:

" *To watch a* sinking cock, *upon the shore*——

WHALLEY.

Mr. Whalley's assertion—"it was never yet said that a wood-cock *shoots* when he takes his evening flight,"—is not only a very confident one, but also an assumption of the point in dispute. Yet, exclusive of this, is it not far more likely that an epithet to ascertain a given season of the evening should have been adopted, rather from the natural and discriminating property of a singular bird, than the casual application of a net to catch it? What would Mr. Whalley think of him who should aver, that *owl-hooping* TIME was so distinguished, not from the whooping of the owl itself, but of some cottager, who might chance to notice its nocturnal excursion?—The verb to *shoot*, which is often used to express a sudden or swift transition from one place to another, is as proper to the peculiar flight of the wood-cock, as to *tower* is to the eagle's; to *skim*, to the swallow's; or to *mount*, to the lark's, and, had not the rhime prevented, would have been employed, perhaps by Gay, in the following line:

" Soon as in doubtful day the wood-cock *flies*."

Mr. Whalley, however, by adding the word *net* after *cockshut*, hath virtually renounced the matter in contest. HENLEY.

130. *I have not that alacrity of spirit*, &c.] So, in Holinshed, p. 775: "—not using the alacritie of mirth and mind and countenance, as he was accustomed to doo before he came toward the battell." STEEVENS.

141. ——*by attorney*,——] By deputation. JOHNSON.

148. ——*mortal* staring *war*.] Thus the old copies. I suppose by *staring war* is meant—*war that looks big*. STEEVENS.

I suspect the poet wrote—mortal *scaring* war. MALONE.

149. *I, as I may*,———

With best advantage will deceive the time,] I will take the best opportunity to elude the dangers of this conjuncture. JOHNSON.

155. ———*The leisure, and the fearful time*

Cuts off the ceremonious vows of love,] We have still a phrase equivalent to this, however harsh it may seem, "*I would do this, if* leisure *would permit*," where *leisure*, as in this passage, stands for *want of* leisure. So, again:

"———More than I have said
"The *leisure* and enforcement of the time
"Forbids to dwell upon———" JOHNSON.

163. ——peize *me down to-morrow*,] Thus the old copies.

copies. The modern editions read—*poize*. To *peize*, i. e. to *weigh down*, from *peser*, French.

I meet with the word in the old play of *The Raigne of King Edward the Third*, 1596:

"And *peize* their deeds with heavy weight of lead."

Again, in *All for Money*, 1574:

"Then if you counter*peaze* me learning with money."

See notes on *The Merchant of Venice*, act iii. sc. 2.

STEEVENS.

168 —*thy* bruising-irons.——] The allusion is to the ancient mace. HENLEY.

182. *Enter the Ghost*, &c.] This circumstance is likewise found in the old book first called the *Mirror for Magistrates*, which was afterwards published under the title of the *Falles of unfortunate Princes*.

"*As in my tent on slumbring bed I lie,*
"*Horrid aspects appear'd unto mine eye:*
"*I thought that all those murder'd ghosts, whom I*
"*By death had sent to their untimely grave,*
"*With baleful noise about my tent did crye,*
"*And of the heavens, with sad complaint, did crave*
"*That they on guilty wretch might vengeance have.*"

His terror on waking is likewise very forcibly described.

Again, Drayton in the 22d Song of his *Polyolbion*:

"Where to the guilty king, the black forerunning night,

" Appear the dreadful ghosts of *Henry* and his *son*,
" Of his own brother *George*, and his *two nephews*, done
" Most cruelly to death; and of his *wife*, and *friend*
" Lord *Hastings*, with pale hands prepar'd as they would rend
" Him piece-meal; at which oft he roareth in his sleep."

It is not unpleasant to trace the progress of a poetical idea. Some of our oldest historians had informed us that king Richard was much disturbed in his dreams. The author of a metrical legend, who follows next in succession, proceeds to tell us the quality of these ominous visions. A poet who takes up the story goes further, and acquaints us with the names of those who are supposed to have appeared in them; and last of all comes the dramatick writer, who brings the phantoms, speaking in their particular characters, on the stage. STEEVENS.

The account given by Hall, in his Chronicle, of Richard's dream, the night before the battle of Bosworth (which is translated literally from Polydore Virgil) is as follows: " The fame went, that he had, the same night, a dreadful and a terrible dreame: for it seemed to hym beynge aslepe, that he saw *diverse ymages lyke terrible develles*, whyche pulled and haled hym, not sufferynge hym to take any quyet or reste."

The

The same words are also repeated in Holinshed's Chronicle. MALONE.

183. —*punched*—] I wish to read *punctled*; punched is ludicrous, and the former is justified by Hall's Chronicle, Richard III. "Her breste she *punctled*."
HENDERSON.

187. *Harry, that prophesy'd thou should'st be king,*] This prophecy, to which this allusion is made, was uttered in one of the parts of *Henry the Sixth*.
JOHNSON.

190. ——*with* fulsome *wine,*] *Fulsome* signifies here, as in many other places, *rich, unctuous*. The wine in which the body of Clarence was thrown, was *Malmsey*.
MALONE.

210. *Let us be* laid *within thy bosom, Richard,*] This is a poor feeble reading. I have restored from the elder quarto, published in 1597, which Mr. Pope doth not pretend to have seen:

Let us be lead *within thy bosom, Richard.*

This corresponds with what is said in the line immediately following:

And weigh *thee* down *to ruin, shame, and death!*
THEOBALD.

231. *I dy'd for* hope,—] i. e. *I died for only having* hoped *to give you that assistance*, which I never had it in my power to afford you in reality. STEEVENS.

It may, however, be observed, that *fore* or *for*, when joined to a verb, had anciently a negative signification. So, in *Macbeth:*

"——— He shall live a man *for*bid."

As to *bid* was to pray, so to *for*bid had the meaning directly opposite, *i. e.* to *curse*. In *Antony and Cleopatra*, to *fore*speak is to *speak against*. In *Hamlet*, and the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, to *for*do is the very reverse of to *do*. *Holpen* or *holp* is the old participle passive of *help*, and is used in *Macbeth*:

"His great love, sharp as his spur, hath *holp* him
"To his home before us."

Instead of *for hope*, we may therefore read *forholpe*, which would mean *unaided*, *abandon'd*, *deserted*, *unhelp'd*, which was the real misfortune of the duke of Buckingham. The word *holp* has occurred likewise in this play:

"Let him thank me that *holp* to send him thither."

Again, in *Coriolanus*:

"Have *holp* to make this rescue." STEEVENS.

Perhaps we should read,

I dy'd *fore done*, &c.

So in *Hamlet*, act v.

Fore do its own life. TYRWHITT.

235. *Give me another horse*———] There is in this, as in many of our author's speeches of passion, something very trifling, and something very striking. Richard's debate, whether he should quarrel with himself, is too long continued, but the subsequent exaggeration of his crimes is truly tragical.

JOHNSON.

237.

237. *O coward* conscience,—] This is extremely fine. The speaker had entirely got the better of his *conscience*, and banished it from all his *waking* thoughts. But it takes advantage of his sleep, and frights him in his dreams. With greater elegance therefore he is made to call it *coward conscience*, which dares not encounter him while he is himself awake, and his faculties entire; but takes advantage of reason being off its guard, and the powers of the soul dissolved in sleep. But the players, amongst their other innumerable absurdities in the representation of this tragedy, make Richard say, instead of *O coward conscience*, *O tyrant conscience!* whereby not only a great beauty is lost, but a great blunder committed. For Richard had entirely got the better of his *conscience*; which could, on no account, therefore, be said to play the tyrant with him. WARBURTON.

238. *The lights burn blue.*——] So, in Lilly's *Galathea*, 1592: "I thought there was some *spirit* in it because it burnt so *blue*; for my mother would often tell me when the *candle burnt blue*, there was some ill *spirit* in the house." It was anciently supposed that fire was a preservative against evil spirits; "because," says Nash (in *Pierce Penniless's Supplications to the Devil*, 1595), "when any spirit appeareth, the lights by little and little goe out as it were of their own accord, and *the takers* are by degrees extinguished." The *takers* are the spirits who blast or *take*. So, in *King Lear*:

"—strike

" ———strike her young bones,
" Ye *taking* airs, with lameness!"

STEEVENS.

245. *I love myself.*——] The old copies read—*Alack*, I love, &c. STEEVENS.

262. *Methought, the souls*, &c.] These lines stand with so little propriety at the end of this speech, that I cannot but suspect them to be misplaced. Where then shall they be inserted? Perhaps after these words:

Fool, do not flatter. JOHNSON.

307. *One that* made means——] To *make means* was, in Shakspere's time, always used in an unfavourable sense, and signified—*to come at any thing by indirect practices.* STEEVENS.

309. ———*by the foil*
Of England's chair,———] Nothing has been, or is still more common, than to put a bright-coloured foil under a cloudy or low-prized stone. The same allusion is common to many writers. So, in a Song published in *England's Helicon*, 1614:

" False stones by *foiles* have many one abus'd."

STEEVENS.

324. ———*the ransom of my bold attempt*] The *fine* paid by me, in atonement for my rashness, shall be my dead corpse. JOHNSON.

329. *God, and saint George!*—] *Saint George* was the common cry of the English soldiers when they charged the enemy. The author of the old *Arte of Warre*, printed in the latter-end of queen Elizabeth's reign,

reign, formally enjoins the use of this cry among his military laws, p. 84.

"*Item*, that all souldiers entring into battaile, assault, skirmish, or other faction of armes, shall have for their common cry and word, *Saint George, forward, or upon them, saint George*, whereby the souldiour is much comforted, and the enemy dismaied by calling to minde the ancient valour of England, which with that name has so often been victorious; and therefore he who, upon any *sinister zeale*, shall *maliciously* omit so fortunate a name, shall be *severely punished* for his obstinate *erroneous* heart, and perverse mind."

Hence too the humour of the following lines in Marston's nervous but neglected satires, entitled the *Scourge of Villainie*, printed in 1599. 111. Lib. Sat. viii :

"A pox upon't that *Bacchis'* name should be
"The watch-word given to the soldierie.
"Goe troupe to field, mount thy obscured fame,
"Cry out *Saint George*, invoke thy mistresse' name;
"Thy *Mistresse* and *Saint George*," &c.

In Beaumont and Fletcher's *Knight of the Burning Pestle*, that admirable and early ridicule of romance-writing, where the champion *Ralph* is going to attack the *Barber*, or the huge giant *Barboroso*, the burlesque is heightened, when, with much solemnity, and as if a real heroick encounter had been going forward, he cries out, "*Saint George!* set on before, march squire

and page." Act iii. sc. 1. And afterwards, when the engagement begins, *Ralph* says, "*St. George* for me:" and *Barbaroso*, "*Garagantua* for me."

WARTON.

362. *This, and St. George to boot!*———] That is, this is the order of our battle, which promises success; and over and above this, is the protection of our patron saint. JOHNSON.

To boot is (as I conceive) to help, and not *over and above*. HAWKINS.

364. Dickon *thy master*] *Diccon* is the ancient abbreviation of *Richard*. In *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, 1575, *Diccon* is the name of the Bedlam. In the words—*bought and sold*, I believe, there is somewhat proverbial. So, in the *Comedy of Errors:*

"It would make a man as mad as a buck, to be so *bought and sold*." STEEVENS.

367. *Let not our babbling dreams*, &c.] I suspect these six lines to be an interpolation; but if Shakspere was really guilty of them in his first draught, he probably intended to leave them out when he substituted the much more proper harangue that follows.

TYRWHITT.

375. *A* sort *of vagabonds*,———] A *sort*, that is, a *company*, a *collection*. See notes on *Midsummer Night's Dream*, act iii. sc. 2. JOHNSON.

382. *And who doth lead them but a paltry fellow,*
Long kept in Britaine at our *mother's cost?*] This is spoken by Richard, of Henry earl of Richmond: but they were far from having any *common* mother, but England:

England: and the earl of Richmond was not subsisted abroad at the nation's publick charge. During the greatest part of his residence abroad, he was watched and restrained almost like a captive; and subsisted by supplies conveyed from the countess of Richmond, his mother. It seems probable, therefore, that we must read:

Long kept in Bretagne at his *mother's* cost.

THEOBALD.

Our *mother's cost?*] Mr. Theobald perceives to be wrong: he reads therefore, and all the editors after him:

Long kept in Bretagne at his *mother's cost.*

But give me leave to transcribe a few more lines from Holinshed, and you will find at once, that Shakspere had been there before me.

"Ye see further, how a companie of traitors, theeves, outlaws and runnagates be aiders and partakers of his feat and enterprise.—And to begin with the erle of Richmond captaine of this rebellion, he is a Welch milksop—brought up by *my moother*'s meanes and mine, like a captive in a close cage in the court of Francis duke of Britaine." p. 759.

Holinshed copies this *verbatim* from his brother chronicler Hall, edit. 1548, fol. 54. but his printer has given us by accident the word *moother* instead of *brother*; as it is in the original, and ought to be in Shakspere. FARMER.

See a letter of king Richard III. persuading his

subjects to resist Henry Tydder, &c. in Fenn's Collection of the *Paston Letters*, Vol. II. p. 318.

HENLEY.

384. *A milk-sop*, &c.] So, in the *Mirror of Magistrates* already quoted:

"First with our foe-mens captaine to begin,
"A weake Welch *milksop*, one that I do know
"Was ne'er before," &c. STEEVENS.

400. *Amaze the* welkin *with your broken staves!*] That is, *fright the skies with the shivers of your lances.*

JOHNSON.

So, in *Soliman and Perseda:*

"Now by the marble face of the *welkin*."

The tame idea is more tamely expressed in W. Smith's *Palsgrave*, 1613:

"Spears flew in splinters half the way to heaven."

STEEVENS.

407. *Advance our standards*, &c.] So again, in the *Mirror for Magistrates:*

"Advance then captaines, forward to the fight,
"Draw forth your swords, each man address his sheeld;
"Hence faint conceites, die thoughts of coward flight,
"To heaven your hearts, to fight your valours yeeld:
"Behold our foes do brave us in the field.
"Upon them, friends; the cause is yours and mine;
"Saint George and conquest on our helmes doth shine." STEEVENS.

413. *Daring* an *opposite to every danger*;] Perhaps the poet wrote:

Daring and *opposite to every danger.*

TYRWHITT.

Perhaps the following passage in Chapman's version of the eighth book of Homer's *Odyssey* may countenance the old reading:

"————a most dreadful fight
"*Daring against him.*" STEEVENS.

The old reading is probably right. *An opposite* is frequently used by Shakspere, and the contemporary writers, for *an adversary*. So, in *Twelfth Night*: "——your *opposite* hath in him what youth, strength, skill, and wrath, can furnish man withal." Again: "——and his *opposite* the youth, bears in his visage no presage of cruelty." So, in *The Fawn*, by Marston, 1605: "A most protested *opposite* to the match." The sense then should seem to be, that king Richard enacts wonders, *daring the adversary he meets with to every danger attending single combat.*

MALONE.

In the *Battle of Alcazar*, 1598, the Moor calls out in the same manner:

"A horse, a horse, villain, a horse!
"That I may take the river strait, and fly!
"——Here is a horse, my lord,
"As swiftly pac'd as Pegasus."

This passage in Shakspere appears to have been imitated by several of the old writers, if not stolen.

So, Heywood, in the Second Part of his *Iron Age*, 1632:

" ———a horse, a horse!
" Ten kingdoms for a horse to enter Troy!"

STEEVENS.

Marston seems to have imitated this line in his *Satires*, 1599:

" A man, a man, a kingdom for a man!"

MALONE.

422. *Five have I slain to-day instead of him:—*] Shakspere had employed this incident with historical propriety in the First Part of *K. Henry IV.* STEEVENS.

423. *A horse! a horse!* &c.] This line is introduced into Marston's *What You Will*, act ii. sc. 1. 4to. 1607:

" Ha! he mounts Chirall on the wings of fame.
" *A horse! a horse! my kingdome for a horse!*
" Looke thee, I speake play scraps," &c.

REED.

430. ———*and make* use *of it.*] Some old books read:

———*make* much *of it.*

and therefore Mr. Theobald reads so too: but very foolishly. Without doubt Shakspere himself thus corrected it to

———*make* use *of it.*

Which signifies, don't *abuse* it like the tyrant you have destroyed: whereas the other reading:

——— *make* much *of it,*

signifies *be fond of it*; a very ridiculous moral for the conclusion of the play. WARBURTON.

Dr.

Dr. Warburton's reading may receive support from a passage in *K. Henry VIII.* where Wolsey is giving advice to Cromwell:

"Neglect him not; *make use* now, and provide
"For thine own future safety." STEEVENS.

441. ——*as we have ta'en the sacrament,*] So, in Holinshed, p. 745: "The earle himselfe first tooke a coporall oth on his honor, promising that incontinent after he shuld be possessed of the crowne and dignitie of the realme of England, he would be conjoined in matrimonie with the ladie Elizabeth daughter to king Edward the fourth." STEEVENS.

450. *All* this *divided York and Lancaster,*
Divided; in their dire division.—] I think the passage will be somewhat improved by a slight alteration:

All *that* divided York and Lancaster,
Divided in their dire division,
O now let Richmond and Elizabeth,
The true succeeders of each royal house,
By God's fair ordinance conjoin together.

Let them *unite all that* York and Lancaster divided.
JOHNSON.

I shall here subjoin two Dissertations, one by Dr. Warburton, and one by Mr. Upton, upon the *Vice*.

ACT III. SCENE I.

THUS like the formal vice, Iniquity, &c.] As this corrupt reading in the common books hath occasioned our saying something of the barbarities of theatrical representations amongst us before the time of Shakspere, it may not be improper, for a better apprehension of this whole matter, to give the reader some general account of the rise and progress of the modern stage.

The first form in which the drama appeared in the west of Europe, after the destruction of learned Greece and Rome, and that a calm of dulness had finished upon letters what the rage of barbarism had begun, was that of the Mysteries. These were the fashionable and favourite diversions of all ranks of people, both in France, Spain, and England. In which last place, as we learn by Stowe, they were in use about the time of Richard the Second and Henry the Fourth. As to Italy, by what I can find, the first rudiments of their stage, with regard to the *matter*, were prophane subjects, and, with regard to the *form*, a corruption of the ancient *mimes* and *attellanes*: by which means they got sooner into the right road than their neighbours; having had regular plays amongst them wrote as early as the fifteenth century.

As to these *mysteries*, they were, as their name speaks them, a representation of some scripture-story,

to

to the life: as may be seen from the following passage in an old French history, entitled, *La Chronique de Metz composée par le curé de St. Euchaire*; which will give the reader no bad idea of the surprising absurdity of these strange representations: "L'an 1437 le 3 Juillet *(says the honest Chronicler)* fut fait le Jeu de la Passion de N. S. en la plaine de Veximiel. Et fut Dieu un sire, appellé Seigneur Nicolle Dom. Neufchastel, lequel étoit Curé de St. Victour de Metz, lequel fut presque mort en la Croix, s'il ne fût été secourus; & convient qu'un autre Prêtre fut mis en la Croix pour parfaire le Personnage du Crucifiment pour ce jour; & le lendemain le dit Curé de St. Victour parfit la Resurrection, et fit très hautement son personage; & dura le dit Jeu——Et autre Prêtre qui s' appelloit Mre. Jean de Nicey, qui étoit Chapelain de Metrange, fut Judas: lequel fut presque mort en pendant, car le cuer li faillit, et fut bien hâtivement dependu et porté en Voye. Et étoit la bouche d'Enfer très-bien faite; car elle ouvroit & clooit, quand les Diables y vouloient entrer & isser; & avoit deux gros Culs d' Acier," &c. Alluding to this kind of representations, archbishop Harsnet, in his *Declaration of Popish Impostures*, p. 71, says, "The little children were never so afraid of Hell-mouth in the old plays, painted with great gang teeth, staring eyes, and foul bottle nose." Carew, in his *Survey of Cornwall*, gives a fuller description of them in these words: "The *Guary Miracle*, in English a *Miracle Play*, is a kind of interlude compiled in Cornish out of some scripture history.

history. For representing it, they raise an earthen amphitheatre in some open field, having the diameter of an inclosed playne, some forty or fifty foot. The country people flock from all sides many miles off, to see and hear it. For they have therein devils and devices, to delight as well the eye as the ear. The players conne not their parts without book, but are prompted by one called the *ordinary*, who followeth at their back with the book in his hand," &c. &c. There was always a droll or buffoon in these *mysteries*, to make the people mirth with his sufferings or absurdities: and they could think of no better a personage to sustain this part than the *devil* himself. Even in the *mystery* of the *Passion*, mentioned above, it was contrived to make him ridiculous. Which circumstance is hinted at by Shakspere (who has frequent allusions to these things) in the *Taming of the Shrew*, where one of the players asks for *a little vinegar* (as a *property*) *to make the devil roar*. For after the sponge with the gall and vinegar had been employed in the representation, they used to clap it to the nose of the devil; which making him roar, as if it had been *holy water*, afforded infinite diversion to the people. So that *vinegar*, in the old farces, was always afterwards in use to torment their devil. We have divers old English proverbs, in which the devil is represented as acting or suffering ridiculously and absurdly, which all arose from the part he bore in these *mysteries*, as in that, for instance, of—*Great cry and little wool, as the devil said when he sheared his hogs.* For the sheep-shearing

shearing of Nabal being represented in the *mystery* of *David and Abigail*, and the devil always attending Nabal, was made to imitate it by *shearing a hog*. This kind of absurdity, as it is the properest to create laughter, was the subject of the *ridiculous* in the ancient *mimes*, as we learn from these words of saint Austin: *Ne faciamus ut mimi solent, & optimus à libero aquam, à lymphis vinum**.

These *mysteries*, we see, were given in France, at first, as well as in England, *sub dio*, and only in the provinces. Afterwards we find them got into Paris, and a company established in the *Hôtel de Bourgogne*, to represent them. But good letters and religion beginning to make their way in the latter-end of the reign of Francis the first, the stupidity and prophaneness of the *mysteries* made the courtiers and clergy join their interest for their suppression. Accordingly, in the year 1541, the procureur-general, in the name of the king, presented a *request* against the company to the parliament. The three principal branches of his charge against them were, that the representation of the Old Testament stories inclined the people to Judaism; that the New Testament stories encouraged libertinism and infidelity; and that both of them lessened the charities to the poor: It seems that this prosecution succeeded; for, in 1548, the parliament of Paris confirmed the company in the possession of the *Hôtel de Bourgogne*, but interdicted the representa-

* Cic. D. l. iv.

tion

tion of the *mysteries*. But in Spain, we find by Cervantes, that they continued much longer; and held their own, even after good comedy came in amongst them: as appears from the excellent critique of the Canon, in the fourth book, where he shews how the old extravagant *romances* might be made the foundation of a regular *epic* (which, he says, *tambien puede escrivirse en prosa como en verso* *); as the *mystery-plays* might be improved into artful *comedy*. His words are, *Pues que si venimos à las comedias divinas, que de milagros falsos fingen en ellas, que de cosas apocrifas, y mal entendidas, attribueyendo a un santo los milagros de otro* †; which made them so fond of miracles, that they introduced them into *las comedias humanas*, he calls them. To return:

Upon this prohibition, the French poets turned themselves from *religious* to *moral* farces. And in this we soon followed them: the publick taste not suffering any greater alteration at first, though the Italians at this time affodred many just compositions for better models. These farces they called *moralities*. Pierre Gringore, one of their old poets, printed one of these *moralities*, entitled *La Moralité de l' Homme Obstiné*. The persons of the drama are *l' Homme Obstiné—Pugnition Divine—Simonie—Hypocrisie*—and *Demerites-Communes*. The *Homme Obstiné* is the atheist, and comes in blaspheming, and determined to persist in his impieties. Then *Pugnition Divine* appears, sitting on

* L. iv. c. 20. † c. 21.

a throne

a throne in the air, and menacing the atheist with punishment. After this scene, *Simonie*, *Hypocrisie*, and *Demerites-Communes* appear and play their parts. In conclusion, *Pugnition Divine* returns, preaches to them, upbraids them with their crimes, and, in short, draws them all to repentance, all but the *Homme Obstiné*, who persists in his impiety, and is destroyed for an example. To this sad serious subject they added, though in a separate representation, a merry kind of farce called *Sottié*, in which there was *un Paysan* [the *Clown*] under the name of *Sot-Commun* [or *Fool*.] But we, who borrowed all these delicacies from the French, blended the *Moralité* and *Sottié* together: so that the *Paysan* or *Sot-Commun*, the *Clown* or *Fool*, got a place in our serious *moralities*: whose business we may understand in the frequent allusions our Shakspere makes to them: as in that fine speech in the beginning of the third act of *Measure for Measure*, where we have this obscure passage:

" ——— *merely thou art* Death's Fool,
" *For him thou labour'st by thy flight to shun,*
" *And yet runn'st tow'rd him still.*"

For, in these *moralities*, the Fool of the piece, in order to shew the inevitable approaches of *Death* (another of the *Dramatis Personæ*), is made to employ all his stratagems to avoid him; which, as the matter is ordered, bring the *Fool*, at every turn, into the very jaws of his enemy: so that a representation of these scenes would afford a great deal of good mirth and morals

morals mixed together. The very same thing is again alluded to in these lines of *Love's Labour Lost:*

" *So* Portent-*like I would o'er-rule his state,*
" *That he should be my* Fool, *and I his* Fate."

Act iv. sc. 2.

But the French, as we say, keeping these two sorts of farces distinct, they became, in time, the parents of *tragedy* and *comedy*; while we, by jumbling them together, begot, in an evil hour, that mungrel species, unknown to nature and antiquity, called *tragi-comedy.*

WARBURTON.

TO this, when Mr. Upton's Dissertation is subjoined, there will, perhaps, be no need of any other account of the *Vice.*

LIKE the old Vice.] The allusion here is to *the Vice,* a droll character in our old plays, accoutred with a long coat, a cap with a pair of ass's ears, and a dagger of lath. Shakspere alludes to his buffoon appearance in *Twelfth Night,* act iv.

" *In a trice, like to the old Vice,*
" *Who with dagger of lath, in his rage and his wrath,*
" *Cries, ah, ha! to the Devil.*"

In the second part of *K. Henry IV.* act iii. Falstaff compares Shallow to a *Vice*'s dagger of lath. In *Hamlet,* act iii. Hamlet calls his uncle,

" *A* vice *of kings:*"

i. e. a ridiculous representation of majesty. These passages the editors have very rightly expounded. I will

will now mention some others, which seem to have escaped their notice, the allusions being not quite so obvious.

The iniquity was often the *Vice* in our moralities; and is introduced in Ben Jonson's play called *The Devil's an Ass*; and likewise mentioned in his Epigram CXV.

" *Being no vitious person, but the* Vice
" *About the town,*
" *Acts* old Iniquity, *and in the fit*
" *Of miming, gets th' opinion of a wit.*"

But a passage cited from his play will make the following observations more plain. Act i. Pug asks the Devil " to lend him a *Vice:*

" *Satan.* What *Vice?*
"What kind would thou have it of?
" *Pug.* Why, any *Fraud,*
" Or *Covetousness,* or lady *Vanity,*
" Or old *Iniquity:* I'll call him hither."

Thus the passage should be ordered:

" *Pug.* Why any: *Fraud,*
" Or *Covetousness,* or lady *Vanity,*
" Or old *Iniquity.*
" *Satan.* I'll call him hither.
" *Enter* Iniquity *the Vice.*
" *Ini.* What is he calls upon me, and would seem to lack a *Vice?*
" Ere his words be half spoken, I am with him in a trice."

And in his *Staple of News,* act ii.

"*Mirth.* How like you *the Vice* i' th' play?

"*Expectation.* Which is he?

"*Mirth.* Three or four; *old Covetousness*, the sordid *Penny-Boy*, the *Money-Bawd*, who is a flesh-bawd too, they say.

"*Tattle.* But here is never a *Fiend* to carry him away. Besides, he has never a wooden dagger! I'd not give a rush for a *Vice*, that has not a wooden dagger to snap at every body he meets.

"*Mirth.* That was the old way, gossip, when *Iniquity* came in, like hokos pokos, in a jugler's jerkin," &c.

He alludes to the *Vice* in the *Alchymist*, act i. sc. 3.

"*Sub.* And, on your stall, a puppet, with a *Vice**."

Some places of Shakspere will from hence appear more easy: as in the First Part of *Henry IV.* act ii. where Hal humorously characterizing Falstaff, calls him, *That reverend* Vice, *that grey* Iniquity, *that father* Ruffian, *that* Vanity *in years*, in allusion to this buffoon character. In *K. Richard III.* act iii.

Thus, like the formal Vice, INIQUITY,
I moralize two meanings in one word.

Iniquity is the formal Vice.

* ——*a puppet with a* Vice.] Mr. Upton has misinterpreted this passage. A *vice* in the present instance means a *device*, *clock-work*. Coryat, p. 254, speaks of a picture whose eyes were moved by a *vice*. FARMER.

In

In *Hamlet*, act i. there is an allusion, still more distant, to *the Vice*; which will not be obvious at first, and therefore is to be introduced with a short explanation. This buffoon character was used to make fun with the devil; and he had several trite expressions, as, *I'll be with you in a trice*; *Ah, ha, boy, are you there?* &c. And this was great entertainment to the audience, to see their old enemy so belabour'd in effigy. In *King Henry V.* act iv. a boy characterizing Pistol, says, *Bardolph and Nym had ten times more valour than this roaring Devil i' the old play: every one may pare his nails with a wooden dagger.* Now Hamlet, having been instructed by his father's ghost, is resolved to break the subject of the discourse to none but Horatio; and to all others, his intention is to appear as a sort of madman; when therefore the oath of secrecy is given to the centinels, and the ghost unseen calls out, *swear*; Hamlet speaks to it as *the Vice* does to the Devil. *Ah, ha, boy, say'st thou so? Art thou there, Truepenny?* Hamlet had a mind that the centinels should imagine this was a shape that the devil had put on; and in act iii. he is somewhat of this opinion himself:

The spirit that I have seen,
May be the devil.

The manner of speech, therefore, to the devil, was what all the audience were well acquainted with; and it takes off in some measure from the horror of the scene. UPTON.

I have

I have nothing to add to the observations of these learned criticks, but that some traces of this antiquated exhibition are still retained in the rustick puppet-plays, in which I have seen the *Devil* very lustily belaboured by *Punch*, whom I hold to be the legitimate successor of the old *Vice*. JOHNSON.

THE END.

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